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ŚRĪ-SARSVATYAI NAMAḤ

(*ADORATION TO THE GODDESS OF LEARNING*)

Sadase Namaḥ (*Homage to the Learned Assembly*)

My deepest gratitude to this Assembly of Oriental Scholars for inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the 22nd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference being held at Gauhati (ancient, *Prāgjyotishapura*) in the easternmost state of Assam.

ANCIENT LAND OF PRAGJYOTISHA

As the author of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* writes *pūrvadeśādikāś chaiva kāmarūpanivāsinaḥ* (V. P. 2.3.15), this ancient land of Kāmarūpa had entered the consciousness of our people as an integral part of primeval 'land-nama' or land-taking that forms the Indian Rāshṭra up to the ends of the four directions (*pradiśaś-chatasraḥ*). Owing to its topographical features this was named in olden times as Prāgjyotisha, a geographical appellation based on Prāgjyotika, i.e. the eastern path or mountainous passage. The word *jyotika* in this sense is still used as *jotā* in Hindi language (same as *kotala* in Pashto). There were two *Jyotikas*, one in the north-west and the other in the easternmost limit of our country. The former was known as Uttara-jyotika,[1] clearly mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* Sābhā Parva :

Kṛitsnaṁ pañchanadaṁ chaiva tathaivāpara-paryaṭam
Uttarajyotikaṁ chaiva tathā Vṛindāṭakaṁ puram
Dvārapālaṁ cha tarasā vaśe chakre mahā-dyutiḥ

(Sabhā, 29.10)

Similarly in Assam there seems to have been a Pūrva-jyotika passing over the Patkai hills towards China and North Burma and several *duārs* leading from the hills to the plains of the Brahmaputra valley, one in Kāmarūpa and two in Darrang. The Pūrva-jyotika of Assam became Prāg-jyotisha which later on persisted as the name of the country. It appears that this question came before the author of the *Kālikā Purāṇa* also who has stated that Brahmā created an eastern star (*Prāgnakshatra*) after which the country was named, but it seems hardly convincing.[2] Its eastern limit extended up to Lauhitya as it is stated that Bhīma in his eastern conquest of Tāmralipti, Vaṅga, Suhma and Sāgara, proceeded up to Lauhitya.[3] It is stated that Arjuna in his eastern conquest proceeded up to Prāgjyotisha where its king Bhagadatta with his army of Kirāta and Chīna and other peoples recruited from oceanic lands and river-valleys offered stiff resistance but in the end peace was arranged

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between the two heroes.[4] Kālidāsa in *Raghu.* V.81, *Chakampe tīrṇa-Lauhitye tasmin Prāgjyotisheśvaraḥ* refers to the geo-political phenomenon that Lauhitya formed the easternmost sate-limit of the kingdom of Prāgjyotisha and when Lauhitya was crossed by the armies of an invader deep stirrings were caused in the hearts of the Prāgjyotisha people.

It appears that in the 5th century B.C. or even earlier this state had been surveyed and incorporated in the Janapada list of those times. The great Brahmaputra river divides Assam into two portions, the northern known as Kāmarūpa with capital at Prāgjyotisha (modern Gauhati) (*Prāgjyotishapuraṁ gatvā kāmarūpāntarasthitam, Kālikā Purāṇa,* 39.164) and a southern portion formed of river-valleys of which the most important is the Sūramā river, the region of which lends itself to be identified with the Sūramasa Janapada of Pāṇini.[5]

The most conspicuous geographical feature of Assam is Brahmaputra "the son of Brahmā" which deposits annual layers of golden loam to enrich the country's rice-bowl. The mountainous terrain and the hill districts to the north and south are intersected by numerous river-valleys from the Karatoyā to the Lauhitya and the Lalitakāntā of which no less than forty names are given in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* as well as names of thirty hills from which these rivers take their rise.[6]

KALIKA PURANA AS THE STHALA-MAHATMYA

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* was compiled for the glorification of the supreme goddess of Kāmarūpa, Kāmākhyā on the outskirts of Gauhati on the Nīlāchala hill. The *Purāṇa* is verily a *Sthala-Māhātmya* to which we are indebted for a record of mythological beginnings and ethnological statements about Assamese history. The country was inhabited by the Kirātas which seems to be a Sanskrit term for the Sino-Tibetan races inhabiting the valley. These tribes filled the river-valleys up to the sea-coast.[7] In the "Bhārataprasasti" of the *Purāṇas* it is clearly stated that the eastern region of the country was inhabited by Kirātas and the western by the Yavanas.[8] In the Sabhāparva itself Bhagadatta, the king of Prāgjyotisha is said to be the ruler of Mlechchhas and Yavanas ; the former seems to have been used as a racial appellation for the Kirātas and Chīnas, the latter term Yavana, however, is obscure in this context, but seems to be a part of the formula *Mlechchha-Yavana* for foreigners. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* speaks of the first mythical ancestor of the Assamese rulers as Naraka, a prince of the dynasty of Janaka Videha of Mithilā for whom strangely enough two epithets, viz. *Devaputra* (37.6) and *Asura* have been used. He is said to have taken birth from Earth as Mother and the Varāha incarnation of Vishṇu as Father. He is said to have been born in the *Yajñavāṭa* of Janaka for whom Vishṇu prophesied that he would be the ruler of Prāgjyotisha. He settled in Kāmarūpa by an all-out conquest of the Kirāta population whose leader named Ghāṭaka was killed in battle and his hosts driven towards the sea-coast. Assam then got a dynasty of kings in which

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were born Bhagadatta, Pushpadatta, Vajradatta and in the same line came the historical varman family of Mahārāja Bhūtivarman, Chandramukhavarman, Sthitivarman, Susthiravarman, and Bhāskravarman. The last became an ally of Harshavardhana and invited Mokshāchārya Yuan Chwang to his court.

ECONOMIC LIFE OF ANCIENT ASSAM

According to the Sabhā Parva Bhagadatta brought to the court of Yudhishṭhira some presents including fleet horses, utensils of jade (*aśmasāramaya bhāṇḍa*) and swords with hilts of white ivory (*śuddhadanta-tsarūn asīn*, Sabhā, 43.14).

Bāṇa has offered a much more extended picture of the economic life of Assam in the form of presents sent by prince Bhāskaravarman to emperor Harsha through an embassy. The principal item was a parasol of extreme whiteness and brilliance which was taken out of a case of white silk. Apart from its big size, the royal umbrella was marked by three other features, viz. (1) that it was adorned by whitening pearl festoons (*mauktika-jālaparikara-sitam*); (2) its round margin was fringed by a dangling row of *chauris* (*chāmarikāvalibhir virachita-pariveshaṁ*); and (3) its top (*śikhara*) was decorated by the beautiful figure of a *haṁsa* with outspread wings (see for such a *chattra*, *Ajanta* by Chief of Aundh, pl. 79 showing both the pearl festoons and the small *chauris* on the round margin).

The next item included a good many bejewelled ornaments received as family heirloom from distinguished ancestors, and which had earned some celebrity (*āhatalakshaṇa*). These specially included necklaces (*hāra*) and head-jewels (*chintāmaṇi*). Royal households in ancient and medieval times became known for their gems, perfumes, beauties, palaces, etc. An important item of presents typical of ancient Kāmarūpa textile industry were the linen cloths (*kshauma*) that were bright like the rays of the autumn moon , and that were capable of undergoing washing treatment (*śaucha-kshama*). These were packed in variously coloured cane-boxes (*anekarāgaśuchira-vetra-karaṇḍa*), and were of a rolled-up form (*kuṇḍalīkṛita*). The exact nature of these fabrics has not been made clear by previous commentators, although Bāṇa has indicated sufficient hints for the purpose. This seems to have reference to a special kind of scarfs that were rolled up (*kuṇḍalīkṛita*), not folded in the ordinary way, and hence required to be specially packed in round or cylindrical baskets of wicker-work (*vetra-karaṇḍa*) tastefully coloured on the outside. Bāṇa has referred to them as *bhaṅgura uttarīya* is a list of textiles specially being made on the occasion of Rājyaśrī's marriage (*Harshacharita*, IV p. 143), which were so called because of the series of gadrooned folds along their length, this precluded folding and necessitated a different kind of packing. An illustration of this very handsome textile is available on a terracotta plaque from Ahichchhatra which provides a visual commentary to Bāṇa's description.[9]

The next item consisted of a mass of drinking cups (*pāna-bhājana*) made of semi-precious stones like oyster shell, chank

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and *galvarka*. The meaning of the last word is not determined. Śaṅkara explains it as masāra, but the latter must have been distinct from *galvarka*, since Bāṇa in another context has mentioned bowls of *galvarka* and dishes of *masāra*,[10] separately in the same sentence. Edgerton has recently collected a number of variants, e.g., *musāragalva, musagalva, musāragalvārka, masagalla, musāragalvarka*, etc., with undetermined meaning for both, like sapphire, emerald, cat's-eye, coral, chalcedony (*Karketana*), etc. (*BHSD*. p. 438). S. K. Chatterjee has suggested the derivation of *Musa, musara, masāra*, from Chinese *mo-so* < *muā sā* < *muā-sar*, all meaning some kind of precious stone, and of *galvarka* from the Dravidian *galla* < *gallaka*, meaning 'stone'.[11] It is likely that the borrowings are correctly traced, but the exact meanings remain problematical. From the list of semi-precious stones for which there must have a demand for words in correct Sanskrit speech, and which were in actual use in the form of beads, utensils etc., agate and jade are the two which drew attention. I would attempt a hypothetical suggestion that jade was called *masara, musara* or Sanskritised *aśmasāra* (Sabhā Parva, 47. 14) and agate *gallakka, gallaka, galvarka*. Both these words have been replaced in modern Indo-Aryan by *yashab* and *haqiq* respectively.

The next item refers to *Kārdaṅga charma*, i. e. shields made of *Kārdaṅga* or more properly those imported from the *Kārdaraṅga* country according to the commentator Śaṅkara (*kārdaraṅga deśodbhavānām*). As shown by Sylvain Levi and Prabodha Chandra Bagchi, *Kārdaraṅga*, also called *Karmaraṅga* was one of the islands in Indonesia.[12] Varāhamihira also mentions Charmadvīpa amongst countries of the South-east (*Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, XIV. 9). In an earlier passage (*Harsha*., p. 207) Bāṇa has already referred to the Kārdaraṅga shields which were adorned with a fringe of small *chauris*, most likely of red colour, which made the black shields shine with variegated appearance. In the present context it is said that on their margins the round shields were decorated by crooked foliated patterns of gold. Small *chauris* round the edge of shields is a feature seen in the figures from Devagarh and Ahichchhatra.[13]

There is next a reference to a special fabric of eastern India, viz. *Jātipaṭṭika*, which was extremely soft to the touch and light like the bark of the birch tree. *Jāti* is the *Chamelī* flower, and the *Jātipaṭṭika* seems to have been so named from the woven white flowers in fine muslin stuff, now known as *jāmdānī*. If this identification be correct, then the *jāmdānī* fine cloth must have had an ancient tradition of manufacture in Bengal and Assam.

The presents also included pillows of padded fur (*samūruka upadhāna*) and made of soft figured cloth (*Chitrapaṭa*), most probably Assamese silk beautified with embroidered patterns. That Assam had developed a trade in fur or the soft fine hair of certain birds and animals in seventh century A. D. and that the stuff was considered a luxury fit for kings, is a remarkable statement.

Another equally important reference

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is to the fine soft mattings of woven cane which had a colour of shining brownish shade and for which Assam is still so famous.

The reference to books is of interest for several reasons. Firstly, it shows that Assam was then manufacturing a special kind of writing material or paper made from the beaten bark of the agallochum (*agaru*) tree. Besides the birch-bark from Kashmir and the palm-leaf from the South and Indonesia, this was a third variety of material used for writing. Secondly, the contents of these books comprised *subhāshitas* or selected verses of didactic poetry, of which the earliest extant examples are the 'Three Centuries' of Bhartṛihari.

The next item is of characteristic local stamp, viz. clusters of fresh betelnut fruits of mixed red and green colour dangling from branches with new shoots, from which milky juice was oozing as they were freshly cut from the trees (*kshīrakshārīṇi cha pūgānāṁ pallavālambīni sarasāni phalāni*).

Assam then, as now, specialised in *agaru* both its timber, excluding juice and oil. The refined *agaru* oil (*kṛishṇāgaru taila*) was filled in hollow bamboo tubes of special width (*sthavīyasī vaiṇavī nāḍī*) which were encased in tawny-coloured leaves of the *Kapotikā* plant. Another similar and prized article was the oil of *sahakāra* creepers. *Sahakāra*, as we know it was the mango of grafted variety for which eastern India is so very famous. These were trained to spread as climbers and a special kind of oil was extracted from it, which was used as a flavouring ingredient of high class wines in north India as shown by frequent literary references to it. Black *agaru* sticks, similar in use as sandal-wood pieces, were put in sacks of jute (*Paṭṭasūtra*) and exported. There is also mention of a special variety of sandal-wood, called *gośīrsha-chandana*. According to Sylvain Levi the special kind of sandal-wood brought from Timor island in Indonesia was known as *gośīrsha-chandana*. Masses of camphor, white and icy, skinned pods of musk taken as such from the musk deer, fruits and leaves of the *Kakkola* tree brought from Kakkola or Takkola on the western coasts of Malay peninsula, flowers of clove (*Lavaṅga pushpa*) and fruits of nutmeg trees (*jātiphalastabaka*)—these formed a special group of presents sent by the king of Kāmarūpa. There must be some special reason why these articles which Assam imported from the islands and countries of Greater or Insular India were included amongst the presents. These were no doubt costly and prized articles worthy of being sent as royal gifts, but their choice seems to have dictated by the fact that Assam controlled a considerable share of trade in these articles from the *Dvīpāntara* countries on account of her special position on the overland route through Burma. The sea-route across the Bay of Bengal (Mahodadhi) was always there, but was fraught with risk and hence the Indian traders found it to be their distinct advantage to operate the land route through Assam and Burma, which were *par excellence* the country of the cocoon-weavers (*Kośakāra bhūmi*) and of silver mines

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(*rajatakāra bhūmi*) as stated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The list reverts to indigenous products when it mentions earthen jars of sweet fragrant honey. These jars were wrapped in cloth and therefore called *Cholakakalaśī*. Śaṅkara also understands *madhurasa* as wine (*drākshā*)) but I think special Assamese honey seems here to be meant. The next item is flywhisks of black and white colour which must have been imported from Bhutan and Tibet across the Assam Duars or passes.

The presents also included folded pairs of painting boards (*ālekhya-phalaka-sampuṭa*) provided with a pendant case for brush (*tūlikā*) and paints or palette (*alābuka*). On the side of these boards choice paintings were made (*likhita*). This was a very appropriate present to demonstrate the aesthetic achievements of the eastern school of pictorial art of which the earliest surviving examples now go back to the Pāla period. What we find are the beautiful wooden book-covers containing miniature paintings of Buddha's life-scenes and Buddhist gods and goddesses. These pairs of wooden book-covers must have been derived from the *sampuṭa* or pairs of pictorial boards (*ālekhya-phalaka*) which were kept folded with each other on the inside to preserve the painted surfaces.

Next is mentioned a series of items of great ethnological interest indicative of the taste shown in the bird and animal life of ancient Prāgjyotisha by both her own rulers and those of distant Madhyadeśa. The presents included pairs of *vana-mānusha*, obviously some species of ourang-outang; *jala-mānusha*, some undetermined species of marine creatures, probably seal; Kinnaras, some wild tribes of Mon-Khmer extraction; musk deer (*kastūrikā kuraṅga*), domesticated *chamarī* cows (or *chamarī* deer trained to roam freely about the houses in the palace-gardens) and a number of birds of the parrot or *Kākātūā* family (*śuka-sārikā*) trained to utter words and maxims in human voice. These latter were carried in a variety of cages made of wicker-work which were tastefully decorated with liquid gold. The preparation of liquified gold is a difficult technical process which seems to have been evolved in the Gupta period. Bāṇa also mentions *Kāñchana rasa* used to beautify clay beads (*mṛinmaya guṭikā mālā*, *Kādambarī*, p. 71), although of any such actual specimen is unknown in the excavations. The *Niśītha-chūrṇi* commentary of almost the same age as Bāṇa refers to *suvarṇa druti* used for colouring yarn. The *Mahāvyutpatti* (254.16) also makes mention of *suvarṇa-drava*.

The last item refers to round earrings made of the long tusks of sea-elephants (*jala-hastin*). This seems to refer to walrus ivory which had been a favourite item of trade in antiquity, being in great demand from the Chinese to the Roman world and also known in the medieval times as *śīr-māhī* used for making handles of daggers and a variety of purposes. The head-bones of such large long-tusked aquatic animals were turned on the lathe for making round beads which were bored and stringed as necklaces possessing the charming translucent shine of

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pearls. The earrings sent as presents were beautified with pendants of such pearly beads (*muktāphala-dāma-danture*).

Exchange of presents (*pratiprābhṛita* or *pratikauśalikā*) and embassies (*dūta-maṇḍala*) of which an inset is found in the 'Rudrāyaṇāvadāna' of the *Divyāvadāna* formed a special feature in ancient Indian diplomatic life from the Maurya period to about 1200 A. D. and requires a detailed study.

ASSAM—A CRUCIBLE OF CULTS AND CULTURES

Assam offers a perfect example of the conception of the Mother-Land (Pṛithivī-Sūkta, *Atharvaveda*) having a diversity of races (*bahudhājana*), languages (*vivāchas*) and cults (*nānādharma*).[14] We get some intimation about the wave of religious influences that overran the soil of Assam. The earliest of them was the austric cult of the Kirātas who were the *Bhauma* people or the children of the soil and who were followers of the cults of aboriginal deities by wine and flesh. Their divinity in the form of *Yonipīṭha* was Kāmākhyā who became the supreme goddess of Assam for all time to come. Her worship was superimposed by a wave of Śaiva influence in whose name a number of Śivaliṅgas for the worship of Śiva or Mahādeva (*Kālikā Purāṇa*, 39.124-5) accompanied with signs of Chandra and Sūrya and the ten Lokapālas were installed. In the Gupta age there was an infiltration of Vaishṇava worship since it is stated that having driven the Kirātas Vishṇu invited a number of Brāhmaṇas who were well-versed in Vedic and Śāstric traditions to settle down in Kāmarūpa, so that a new cultural spate of Vedic studies and charities was introduced under the influence of their colonising the land.[15] These learned Brāhmaṇas are styled as Munis, a term used by Kālidāsa and Bāṇa for the Vaishṇava teachers of Vaikhānasa allegiance who lived an ascetic life but were householders and were devoted to the studies of Vedic and Śāstric literature. So far as religious culture is concerned Assam has made a wonderful contribution by evolving a cultural symbyosis of the austric Kirāta, Nishāda, Tibetan, Chinese, Mon-Khmer and Aryan races in a most peaceful and quiet manner by mutual assimilation of religious and social elements amongst which the Aryan way of life, literature and art emerged supreme and linked this region with the arterial life-flood of Mother India.

SANSKRIT CULTURE IN ASSAM

This fact is best illustrated in the literature of Sanskrit inspiration created by the master minds of Assam.

The sweetest result of Vaishṇava colonisation was the tree of Sanskrit learning in the soil of Kāmarūpa. It implies that the vast body of Vedic, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vaishṇava and Śaiva literature began to enrich the culture of Assam with its *Artha-vyūha* and *Śabdavyūha* as it was flourishing in Madhyadeśa, Bengal and elsewhere, a detailed stock-taking or inventory of which is found in Chs. XI and XII of the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, a Pañcharātra source book of inestimable value. As mentioned by Bāṇa beautiful

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Subhāshita works were being produced by Assamese learned scholars and scribes. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* itself is a worthy document having the status of a *Sthala Purāṇa*, the best of its kind available amongst such texts. A compilation of such local accounts based on geographical, religious and cultural material is preserved in several Purāṇas, e. g. *Vāmana Purāṇa* for Kurukshetra and the Panjab region, *Nīlamata Purāṇa* for Kashmīra, *Varāha Purāṇa* for Mathurā, *Kāśī-Khaṇḍa* for Vārāṇasī, *Avanti-Khaṇḍa* for Malwa, *Prabhāsa-Khaṇḍa* for Saurāshṭra and *Brahma Purāṇa* (chs. 77-174) for the region of Sahyādri; all of these require a new interpretation in the light of local topographical-cum-cultural features for which they were meant.

SANSKRIT AND ASSAMESE LITERATURE

Through all her subsequent history Assam has preserved a number of works which bear the hall-mark of Sanskrit. It is said in several inscriptions that the Kāmarūpa kings were personally interested in Sanskrit literature, for example king Dharmapāla was himself a composer of great merit (*Kavichakravālachūḍāmaṇi*) whose verses are preserved in *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* and so also Puraṁdarapāla, father of Indrapāla. Sanskrit classical literature was assiduously cultivated and deeply influenced the ornate poetry of Kāmarūpa inscriptions. The *Yōginī Tantra* and the *Haragaurīsaṁvāda* although of later date have preserved a good deal of early historical and religious material. Śaṅkaradeva was the author of the *Bhaktiratnākara*.

Our homage is due to Śaṅkaradeva the brightest jewel of Assamese religious and literary creativity. His massive learning is said to have comprised according to the *Kathāgurucharita*, his early biography, a knowledge of four Vedas, fourteen Śāstras, eighteen *Purāṇas*, eighteen *Bhāratas*, fourteen Vyākaraṇas, eighteen Kāvyas, eighteen Kośas, Saṁhitās, Amara, Chāṇakya and Yogaśāstra (*Kathāgurucharita*, p. 28-29). He lived to an advanced age of 120 yerars (1449-1569 A. D.). His influence permeates every petal of Assamese mind. He organised a complete translation of the *Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa* and wrote many other poetical works and dramas.[16] The warmth of his mind and the perfume of his soul will continue to be felt on the soil of Assam for many centuries to come.

The other works of Assamese literature consist of old Sanskrit classics. For example, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki had several translations, viz. a rendering in Assamese verse by Mādhava Kandalī at the request of the Varāha king Mahāmāṇikya (late 14th cent.); the *Gīti-Rāmāyaṇa* by Durgābara in the time of of Cooch king Viśva Siṁha (1515 A.D.-1540 A.D.); the *Śrīrāma-Kīrtana* by Ananta Ṭhākura; the *Rāmāyaṇa Chandrikā* by Kalāpa Chandra Dvija; the *Kathā-Rāmāyaṇa* by Raghunātha Mahanta; the *Sītāsvayaṁvara* or *Rāmavijaya Nāṭa* by Śaṅkaradeva; so also several adaptations from the *Mahābhārata* as in the *Vabhruvāhanar Yuddha* by Harivara Vipra; the *Prahlāda-charita* and the *Gītā-kīrtana* by Śaṅkaradeva.

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Amongst the Purāṇas the *Devībhāgavata* exercised a deep influence on Assamese literature, religion and art. A *Pada Bhāgavata* was composed by Śaṅkaradeva himself. Several episodes of *Vishṇu* (the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* by Bhāgavatamiśra, Yamagītā by Kālidāsa, etc.), and *Harivaṁśa* (*Ushāpariṇaya* by Pītāmbara) Purāṇas have contributed to the Assamese literary and religious culture. Assam has walked shoulder to shoulder with other parts of the country and it is hoped that Assam shall maintain the tradition of her cultural strides in modern times. For this fulfilment it is necessary to cultivate the study of Sanskrit at several levels.

OUR HERITAGE OF SANSKRIT

Sanskrit is the Wish-fulfilling Mother of Indian culture. The full stature of the Indian mind is mirrored in the heritage of Sanskrit. The ambrosial rain of Sanskrit from the heavenly minds of great authors has kept the soul of the people saturated through the ages. " The copiousness of Sanskrit far exceeds that of Greek and Latin ".

The doctrine of national integration through Sanskrit was preached by several ways. A national consciousness was generated by several means apotheosising (*devatva-pradāna*) the Motherland. A conception of the holy land is found at the very outset of our civilisation in the " Pṛithivī Sūkta " of the *Atharvaveda*. This may be said to be a 'Hymn of Land-taking' which process once begun continued throughout India's history as religious worship offered to the Mother land. We find it in the several Bhārata Praśastis. The Pṛithivī Sūkta itself presents a detailed scheme of land-taking by which the mother-land was conceived of as eternal goddess claiming homage of all the peoples settled on her soil speaking many languages and following different faiths.

Sanskrit has not forsaken India through her hours of trial. Her great scriptures have stood solidly by us. The *Gītā* and the *Upanishads*, the Vedānta philosophy and the epics form the durable foundations on which the ideals of national freedom were based and our future reconstruction must bear the stamp of Sanskrit pattern. We should wake up in time to fulfil our obligation to Sanskrit, for if Sanskrit is not gracefully brought through the front door it is bound to enter our minds through the back door of scientific and technical terminology for which there is provision in the Constitution. The linguistic rehabilitation of the country depends on Sanskrit as on nothing else. For this purpose it is essential for the Universities to launch upon a comprehensive stock-taking of Sanskrit literature for scientific terminology, material and grammatical formations of compound words and verbal nouns, of primary and secondary formations of words in Sanskrit literature in all its branches. For this purpose a comprehensive history of Sanskrit literature of original works, commentaries, translations and adaptation in all the Indian languages should be compiled as early as possible according to a set plan under the auspices of the All-India Oriental Conference, and the Universities. What

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I have in mind is a *Comprehensive Dictionary of Sanskrit, a History of Sanskrit Literature* on the lines of an encyclopaedic recording. As a part of this scheme of investigating the world-legacy of Sanskrit a concordance of Sanskrit manuscripts is essential. We should wish Godspeed to the *Catalogus Catalogorum* work proceeding under the direction of Dr. Raghavan at Madras and also to the *Great Sanskrit Dictionary* or *Thesaurus of Sanskrit* progressing at the Deccan College post-Graduate Research Institute under the direction of Dr. S. M. Katre. We should also recommend the compilation of special dictionaries, e. g. a Dictionary of Mythology from the Vedas and Purāṇas, a Dictionary of Indian Geography and a Dictionary of Indian Art. A journal for dealing exclusively with Indian manuscripts is as essential as one on epigraphy; for in India we still have an unparalleled wealth of manuscript material which should be taken care of in due time. These hand-written texts are still quite abundant and make an eloquent appeal for preservation. Acquiring them for public collections, making a survey of them, reporting on them and listing them are effective means by which their existence is publicly recognised, as was done in the first flush of Sanskrit discovery during the last century.

VALUE OF SANSKRIT FOR INDIA

The value of Sanskrit for the future reconstruction of the Indian nation must be realised as part of national planning and accepted for immediate implementation. There should be an Indological Research Institute at the centre and such institutes in every state. This institute should take charge of the many-sided advanced research work about India. India should also raise her stature and look round her peripheral neighbouring countries from Central Asia to Malayasia and from Ceylon to Alexandria and develope her means both academic and financial for the study of material from Iran, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete, Japan, Korea, China, Tibet, etc. If Indian scholarship is to meet on a footing of equality with that of the west and of the east, India must take positive steps in that direction. The Near-East material of cuneiform tablets and cylinder seals has remained a close book to us. Time is now ripe for its cascading to levels of Indian scholarship. India should go further and install living centres for Persian and Arabic literatures. It would be in the fitness of things that the Indian mind received such a leaven in the best of cordial spirits. Sarasvatī, our national goddess, has many facets and all her forms should be given their due homage. Geographically placed on the globe as India is, Indian Indological studies should entertain a worthy inspiration to take charge of this task.

A reference to the Indological Institute brings in the question of establishing a Central Indological Library. Its potentiality has not yet been realised and no one has thought of building such an institution which will save India much valuable exchange by attracting most of her research-workers to that library. The National Museum, the Deptt. of Archaeology, the Central Indological Institute, the

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National Archives and the National Library should collaborate in evolving a central library of Indological literature on the lines of the one at the School of Oriental and African Studies. Everything about India under the sun should be the motto of such a collection of Indological literature. The sooner it is established the better.

With a plea for Sanskrit literature I also wish to raise a voice from this forum in favour of the Prakrit language and literature of which studies need to be strengthened to create renewal of interest and reorganisation of future plans. The Prakrits have been the foundations of the Indo-Aryan languages in their middle and new idioms. Since the New-Indo-Aryans are bound to determine the linguistic evolution of the country, it is essential to pay attention to the immense volume of Prakrit literature to conduct research and publications on the same lines as Sanskrit. Sanskrit and Prakrit are so juxtaposed in the dramatic literature of our country that their unity should not be parcelled. Prakrit Kāvyas, dramas and story literature should be re-edited and published. A vast amount of Apabhraṁśa literature has come to light in the Jaina Bhaṇḍāras and still remains unpublished for which special programme should be undertaken and the Hindi Departments in the Universities should be strengthened for this purpose. Indo-Aryan philological and etymological research will remain incomplete without a first hand study of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa for which academic programme should be initiated in a well-planned way. The *Prakrit Text Society* on the lines of the *Pali Text Society* was brought into being by me in 1953. Although it has published about half a dozen important texts, it has yet to expand its work in collaboration with the Universities and the U. G. C. or the Ministry of Education. A well-planned dictionary of Prakrit must be undertaken on the lines of great Sanskrit Thesaurus of Poona.

It also seems essential that collaboration between Indian and foreign institutes and scholars should be brought about by deliberate efforts on the two sides and this can well be done through the All-India Oriental Conference serving as a clearance-house. It should also be recognised that Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism are integral parts of a single culture and the essential unity of their respective literatures and arts should now be proclaimed in a much clearer manner in our future programmes of research. For example, a *Dictionary of Indian Art Terms* should include material from all these sources in addition to that which may be extracted from purely *Śilpa* texts. I have myself been working on a dictionary of this type and realise how far the terminology is indistinguishable on the basis of language since the architectural forms that were intended were the same. A few terms may be recorded, e.g. *Varṇavallī*, *Kāmalatā*, *Māṅgalya vihaga Vyāghrasiṁhānanī*, *Kīrtimukha*, *grāsa*, *gavākṣha-jāla*, *kuñjarākṣha*, *śalākāvātayana*, *gulikā-Vidyādhara*, *Pragrīvaka*, *sañjavana*, *Prāsādakukshi*, *Ambāsanaka*, *Pratikaṇṭhukā*, *Pushpagrahaṇī Vedikā*, *Lalāṭabimba*, *Rathikā*, *Uruśṛiṅga* and a thousand others awaiting

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to be compiled and discussed in a comprehensive dictionary.

REORIENTATION OF SANSKRIT STUDIES

I plead that there should be a renewal of approach in our Sanskrit Studies for the future. There should be a *rapprochement* between Sanskrit, Indian Archaeology and Indian Art which will lead to a deeper unfoldment of Indian culture as a whole. The governing objective should be to extract as much cultural material as possible from various literary sources. I contemplate a series of cultural commentaries to be prepared on important Sanskrit works. This was demonstrated by Prof. K. K. Handiqui's important work entitled "*Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*" which contributed a substantial amount of religious, social and cultural material. I myself working on similar lines completed cultural studies of the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, *Harsha-Charita* and *Kādambarī* but much more remains to be done and many other texts like the *Avantisundarī* of Daṇḍin, *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu, *Śṛiṅgāra-mañjarī* of Bhoja, *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla, *Samārāichchakahā* of Haribhadra, *Bṛihatkathā-śloka-saṅgraha* of Budhasvāmin, *Upamitibhāva-prapañchakathā* of Siddharshi, *Udayasundarī-kathā* of Soḍḍhala, *Kuvalayamālākahā* of Udyotana Sūri (778 A.D.) are veritable mines of information when properly tapped from the cultural point of view. For example, the description of the army on the march in the *Harsha-Charita* is soaked in cultural information of the highest value.

BHARATAVARSHA THE LAND OF SANSKRIT

Our ancestors were faced with the problem of settlement on land and initiated a process of multiple land-taking which we find recorded in Sanskrit literature. The 'Pṛithivī Sūkta' of the *Atharva Veda* offers a detailed scheme by which the Motherland was given the status of a Holy Land or Goddess that is immortal and enshrined in the hearts of all men. Many garlands characterised by the perfume of Indian mind which apotheosised the motherland have come down to us. For example, each pool of water or river or a mountain peak (*Kuṇḍa-nadī-parvata*) was made holy by associating it with some Ṛishi or ancestor. There are several Bhārata Praśastis or Hymns of Glory to the Mother Land the highest in devotion being the one in the Purāṇas;

Gāyanti devāḥ kila gītakāni
dhanyāstu te bhāratabhūmibhāge
svargāpavargāspada - hetubhūte
bhavanti bhūya purshāḥ suratvāt

The land of Bhārata has the potentiality of conferring *Brahmatva*, *Amareśatva* and *Devatva* (*Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, 57.7). The gods wish to be born as men in Bhārata. Bhārata is the most excellent continent in the whole. Who can speak the full glory of Bhārata:

Na bhāratasamaṁ varshaṁ pṛithivyāmasti bho dvijāḥ
kaḥ śaknoti guṇān vaktuṁ bhāratasyākhilān dvijāḥ

(*Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, 57.71, 8)

What man under the sky can do is difficult even for the gods. Bhārata is

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verily *Karmabhūmi*, a *Mokshakshetra* and the giver of both *bhukti* and *mukti*. In the soil of Bhārata there are seeds[17] of all great ideals of life :

tadetad bhāratam varsham sarvabījam dvijottamāḥ

(*Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, 57.60)

The mother land supports peoples of diverse races, languages, and religions. This was the supreme fact of our culture and has been with us through the ages, but this diversity was overcome by the genius of man in India evolving the supreme unity of culture as expressed in the Sanskrit language, literature, religion of the Vedas, and major gods and goddesses, a single paramount system of law of polity, social pattern and ideas.

A new doctrine of the spreading of culture along the routes of the river valleys (*nadī-droṇi*) was developed. The fiery principle supporting the whole population living on the mother land was named *Bharata*.[18]

This Agni spread throughout the country and a standard list of its expansion was drawn up comprising the 16 river valleys :—

1. Kāverī
2. Kṛishṇa-veṇā
3. Narmadā
4. Yamunā
5. Godāvarī
6. Vitastā
7. Chandrabhāgā
8. Irāvatī
9. Vipāśā,
10. Kauśikī
11. Śatadrū
12. Sarayū
13. Sītā
14. Sarasvatī
15. Hlādinī
16. Pāvanī (*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Anushaṅgapāda, Ch. 12, *Agni-nichaya Prakaraṇa*, 17-18).

The Bharata Fire found its abode in these various parts of the country bringing it under the purview of a unified religious and cultural system, which accepted the rivers as its mothers :

Etā nadyastu dhṛishṇyānāṁ mātaro yāḥ prakīrtitāḥ

(Vanaparva, 212. 24)

There is abundant material about the routes in Sanskrit literature which merits to be studied for this purpose. There was the grand Northern Route (Uttaratha of Pāṇini) connecting the sea-port of Tāmra-lipti with great capitals like Champā, Pāṭaliputra, Vārāṇasī, Prayāga, Sāketa, Kānyakubja, Mathurā, Hastināpura, Sākala, Taxila, Pushkalāvatī, Kāpiśī, Bāhlīka and Kamboja. The other great route was that of Dvārāvatī-Kamboja which passed though Ānarta and touching Madhyamikā near Chittor which was its middle point touched Sindhu and going north along its two banks branched off along the Sarasvatī on the one hand and proceeded northwards towards the Oxus on the other and terminated again at Kamboja. The *Bhāgavata* has mentioned twice the Sarasvatī sector of this route stating that Kṛishṇa travelled by it between Indraprastha and Dvārakā. The several Stūpas of Devānīmorī, Mīrpur Khās and Mohenjo-daro were erected on this route.

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Another route connected Assam-Kāmarūpa with Central Asia along the Himalayan foot-hills. It was by this route Kṛishṇa, Bhīma and Arjuna travelled from Indraprastha to Girivraja with a view to avoid public gaze. Kālidāsa also mentions an important sector of this route between Central Asia and Rampur Bushhar which was the land of the Utsava-Saṅketas in the Satlej valley. Kālidāsa has mentioned three points of this route in the following verse :—

Bhūrjeshu marmarī-bhūtā kīchakadhvanihetavaḥ
Gaṅgā-śīkariṇo mārge marutastaṁ sishevire
(*Raghuvaṁśa*, 4.73)

The route started from the region of the Kīchaka bamboos growing on the banks of the Śailodā (Zarafshan) river in Central Asia and passing through the Kamboj country it descended on Leha-Laddakh in Kashmir, the region of the Bhūrja trees and finally touched the head-quarters of the Gaṅgā along the great Himalayas from there through several river valleys it picked up the routes along the Tarai. We also find mention of the Kauśāmbī and Chedi route which picked up an eastern sector from Magadha along the valleys of the Sona and the Jyotīrathā (Johilā, river). The *Mahābhārata* Vanaparva tells us of three routes, one leading to Dakshiṇa Kosala, the other to Vidarbha and in between them the Dakshiṇāpatha Mārga or the *Grand-Trunk Express* route of modern times.[18A] The routes along the Eastern Ghaṭs from Mahendra to Malaya and along the Western Ghaṭs from the Koṅkaṇa coast from Malaya to Sahyādri are made known in Sanskrit texts.

THE OCEAN

A grand picture of naval expansion is recorded in Sanskrit literature. India should become conscious of her oceans before it becomes too late. The Bay of Bengal was known as Mahodadhi and the Arabian Sea as Ratnākara. These two names are still current near Dhanushkoti or the point where their waters meet, as I learnt from an illiterate fisherman walking on the beach there. Kālidāsa has referrred both to Mahodadhi and Ratnākara in the *Raghuvaṁśa*.[19]

Several major features should be noted in connection with India's relationship with the sea; firstly the conception of the ocean as representing the visible form of Mahā-Purusha Vishṇu as mentioned by Kālidāsa.[20] The *Matsya Purāṇa* mentions it as the *Nārāyaṇa-Mahārṇava*, an appropriate short formula of god as Ocean or Ocean as god. This was the situation between the first and seventh century A. D. when the grand edifice of classical civilization was built. It is stated in the *Matsya P.* that the ocean as Nārāyaṇa consists of 8 mountains, 11 seaports and 12 islands which is a very realistic picture of the vast sea-board of India and of her deep oceanic waters.[21]

A geographical scrutiny of these accounts shows that the 11 sea prots were 1. Prabhāsa pattana, 2. Bhṛigukachchha pattana, 3. Śūrapāraka, 4. Muruchi pattana, 5. Nāga pattana, 6. Kaverī pattana, 7. Dramila pattana, 8. Musuli pattana, 9. Viśākhā pattana, 10. Kaliṅga pattana, 11. Tāmralipti pattana and also Priyaṅgu pattana (*Vasudeva Hiṇḍī*, Ātmānand Jaina Granthamālā edition, p. 145).

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The list of mountains may have included Sonagiri near the confluence of the Indus sea, Raivataka mountain in Saurāshṭra, the Sahyādri along the Koṅkaṇa coast, the Dardura and Malaya mountains in Tamil land, and the Mahendra mountain (*Raghu.* 60 54). This list may have included the other mountains along the sea coast of Greater India of which three important names are given in the Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, viz. Śiśira Parvata, Ṛishabha Parvata and Udaya Parvata.

The reference to the 12 islands was still more significant. The number of Dvīpas was once reckoned as 12 then as 13 and lastly as 18 both by Kālidāsa and Bāṇa. Kālidāsa refers to the king of Māhishmatī as having established his scarificial Yūpas in the 18 islands.[22] Actual examples of such sacrificial posts have been found in Indonesia. Bāṇa goes a step further in giving the idea a poetic colour by describing the mother land as wearing an auspicious garland in which the 18 islands of the sea formed as it were the beads of the necklace. Such a necklace was considered to have the efficacy of an amulet-string which was known as *Aṣṭha-maṅgalaka-mālā* and worn by sea faring merchants to ward off evil. The name was derived in the Kushāṇa period from the list of 8 auspicious symbols depicted on the Jaina Āyāga-paṭas at Mathura and it is included in the list of ornaments given in the *Aṅgavijjā*. This list of islands included such names as :—

1. Kumārī-dvīpa
2. Indra-dvīpa
3. Kaserumān
4. Tāmraparṇī
5. Gabhastimān
6. Nāga-dvīpa
7. Saumyaka-dvīpa
8. Gandharva-dvīpa
9. Vāruṇa-dvīpa
10. Karmaraṅga-dvīpa
11. Nārikela-dvīpa
12. Vārushaka-dvīpa
13. Bāli-dvīpa
14. Yava-dvīpa
15. Malaya-dvīpa
16. Kaṭāha-dvīpa
17. Suvarṇa-dvīpa
18. Karpūra-dvīpa

This was the limit of praise a sea-minded people could give to the ocean, by comparing it to their supreme deity god Vishṇu. It is stated in the *Matsya Purāṇa* that the people prayed to the Sea-god to become like the pavement of their domestic courtyard since the marriage party of Śiva was expected to cross it, as new revealed by archaealogical remains in Indonesia. The literature of this period is replete with accounts of sea voyages by merchants and religious teachers going with them.

Another notable feature is the twofold meaning of *Mahārṇava*, one signifying only the mainland sea-board and secondly the main land and the 8 other oceanic islands called Dvīpāntara. When this second geographical meaning of Bhārata became current then the original homeland became known as Kumārī-dvīpa for which Rājaśekhara has stated '*ayaṁ tu navamasteshāṁ dvīpaḥ sāgarasaṁvṛitaḥ . . . Navamo dvīpaḥ, Kumārīdvīpaḥ*). This salient fact has been reserved in the *Saṅkalpa* as recited up to this day. There the reference to Bhāratavarsha in Jambudvīpa reflects the

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earlier meaning of Bhārata and then the second mention of Kumarikā-khaṇḍa as part of Bharata-khaṇḍa points to the second stage of geographical development. The earliest reference to the eastern and the western ocean is found in the *Ṛigveda* and for nearly 5,000 years India has been the mistress of her oceans. The lesson of ancient Indian geography should re-enter into our awakened national consciousness.

These object-leassons of mountains, land routes, river systems and the sea shore of India should be recaptured in the new context of geo-politics.

The Purāṇas also give lists of Janapadas in their appraisal of the geography of the Mother Land taking into its purview the extension of the country in the four directions (*Bhuvana-Kośa*). There was no geographical unit which was not recoginsed as a Janapada. This institution was both cultural and political and continued with boundary fluctuations through historical evolution. Originally it had great similarity with the institution of the city-states in Greece (as I have shown in my *India as known to Pāṇini*) but the Janapada State of India occupied a much wider territory and continued much longer in time. Their full implications for culture, history and language have to be elucidated.

There are several other lists which bring to a focus the divine conception of a mother land. For example, the Sixteen Chakravartī monarchs brought the religious ideal of Dharma to a focus from age to age, by rolling the wheel of law in four directions through the four entrances of their palaces. We also have such lists garlanding the whole earth of centres of Devī worship (*Devī-pīṭha*), Vishṇu worship (*Vishṇu-pīṭha*), Śiva worship (Śiva-pīṭha) and Yaksha worship. Through art the mother land was adorned by means of the building of great temples and great Stūpas, all along the periphery and in the centre. Each painting, sculpture or image is not a fragmentary specimen but demonstrates the mind of man in India. They are not dead heifers but vital currents of national culture or commentaries of religion, literature, art and culture produced by the creative genius of the Indian mind. Taken together these may be regarded as a *Vāg-Yajña* for the mother land. Many such garlands were placed on the breast of the mother to beautify her.

The geographical consciousness developed in India was of a very practical nature serving the purpose of cultural and commercial communications. From Kamboj in Central Asia to Sūramasa in Assam, from Kailāsa in the Himalayas to Kanyā Kumārī of the sea-shore, the unity of the land was frequently emphasised and this entered the consciousness of the poets and dramatists, and religious teachers prescribing manifold Tīrthamālās. The threefold defence lines of the Himalayas were conceived as *Antaragiri* or *Mahā-Himavant* (the Great Himalayas), *Bahirgiri* or *Chulla-Himavant* (the Lesser Himalayas) and *Upagiri* or the Tarai. The seven hills inside the country (*Kula - Parvatas*) from Mahendra to Pāriyātra via Malaya-Sahyādri and Vindhya together with the names of many other smaller mountains as well as forests

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were duly taken note of. A large number of names of rivers rising from these hilly areas and draining their waters to the ocean were recorded by actual observation, which are sometimes very surprising; as for example the valleys of the Aruṇā and Tamrā which pour their water in the Kauśikī from across the high Himalayas and are justly famous for their deepest gorges they have cut on the globe.

A NEW APPROACH TO THE MAHABHARATA

VIDURANITI : A TEXT OF PRAJNA-DARSANA—

A new cultural commentary on the *Mahābhārata* is required for which time is ripe. Many of its themes have not yet been properly elucidated, e.g. the Viduranīti portion, known as 'Prajāgara Parva' (Chs. 30-40 of the Udyogaparva). This portion consists of 530 verses which is a dialogue between Vidura and the King Dhṛitarāshṭra. Vidura is called *Mahāprājña* same as *Mahāpaṇḍita* Vidura of the Jātakas. The word *Prajñā* became *Paññā* in Pāli and *Paṇṇā* in Prakrit and also *Paṇḍā* in some other Prakrit, may be Paiśāchī from which the word *Paṇḍita* is derived. A follower of the *Prajñā* school of philosophy was known as Paṇḍita. It adopted the commonsense view of life and its approach generally was rationalistic. Its doctrines were of general acceptance. Buddha and Mahāvīra also drew some of its tenets. Kṛishṇa often refers to it in the *Gītā* as the Behaviour dictated under the influence of *Prajñā* (*tasya prajñā pratishṭhitā*). Kṛishṇa was a *Prajñāvādin* philosopher and so was Vidura and also Yudhishṭhira. Dhṛitarāshṭra, on the other hand, was a follower of the *Niyati* school or *Dishṭavāda* philosophy (Udyoga *P.*,39.1)[23].The teachers of this school were required to express their views about the life of the house-holder, dignity of man and his endeavours. It believed in the positive and affirmative side of life and not in the negative approach (*Bhāvamichhati sarvasya nā'bhāve kurute matim*, Udyoga, 36.16). The Prajñā school advocated a bright future for man's life called *Āyativāda* opposite of *Niyativāda*.[24] The *Niyativāda* school believed in a five-fold approach to life based on equality of all (*Sarvasāmya*), absence of efforts (*Anāyāsa*), uniformity of speech (*Satyā vāk*), indifference to action (*Nirveda*) and a general withdrawal from mental exercise and living activity (*Avivitsā*), thinking that these five principles lead to a quiet peaceful way of life :

Etānyeva padānyāhuḥ pañcha-vṛiddhāḥ praśāntaye

(Śāntiparva, 171 2-3).

According to Patañjali the Maskarī mendicants preached a withdrawal from *Karma* for the attainment of spiritual peace (*Mā karma kārshīḥ śāntireva śreyasī*). The *Niyati* school in which Yayāti also believed, is found in the list of the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* and also in Pāṇini under the name of *Dishṭamati* (*Ashṭādhyāyī*, 4.4.60), a term preserved in the ancient congratulatory formula *Dishṭyā vardhate bhavān*. The *Prajñāvāda* school believed in positive ceaseless action performed with heart's inspiration. Withdrawal from the action of senses is the same as death. The

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Prajñā school believed in *Dharma* as the foundation of life which was disclaimed by the followers of *Niyativāda*. After listening to the long and discursive exposition of *Prajñāvāda* by Vidura Dhṛitarāshṭra relapsed in to the same mental inertia as before and said "O Vidura! what you say is true but when I see Duryodhana my mind is changed ; no one can go against fate. Fate alone is real ; effort is fruitless (Udyoga, 40.12--30)". In the *Prajñāvāda* school great emphasis was laid on commonsense or intelligence and this approach to the duties and obligations of life was known as *Saṁsāriṇī Prajñā* (*Yasya saṁsāriṇī Prajñā dharmārthāvanuvartate|kāmādarthaṁ vṛiṇīte yaḥ sa vai paṇḍita uchyate*). Intelligence is the highest asset of man. The shaft released from the bow of a hero may kill its target or may not but the shaft of wisdom can penetrate the vitals of the king and the kingdom. Vidura has traced the origin of *Prajñā* schoolto Svāyambhuva Manu himself and stated that there are seven hostile influences which sap man's sturdy common-sense. The Viduranīti as a document of the *Prajñā* school and its contents deserved to be reassessed.

MADRAKA—KUTSANA (VILIFICATION OF THE INDO-GREEKS)

Another important chapter in the *Mahābhārata* is the so-called diatribe between Karṇa and Śalya, entitled 'Madraka-Kutsana' in the epic colophons. If we look through its thin veneer it has little to do with the personal character of Śalya king of the Madra Janapada but it is a unique document about the Indo-Greeks known as *Madraka-Yavana*. The comments are recorded in the style of juxtaposition which are more or less similar and repeated nine times containing a critical observations by the Brāhmaṇas of Madhyadeśa on the manners and customs of the Indo-Greeks ruling from Sākala or Syalakot. These are connected with the royal court of Kuru Janapada where their echoes were felt. The social customs and manners of the Indo-Greeks were echoed in the form of travellers' accounts and became the topic of comment and gossip in public assemblies. The people of Madra Deśa had once been good orthodox members of the holy land of the five rivers but now the Indo-Greeks or Yavanas had taken possession of Madra and introduced many social customs which were held to be reprehensible when compared with the orthodox social code.

In the first extract (Karṇa, 27.71) Madra deśa is said to be sinful where old men, women, children and young men are immersed in pleasure and they sing their symposia songs (*Gāthās*) in the style and extent of serious study. Versified Gathas about the evilminded Madrakas repeated by the Brāhmaṇas of yore were as follows :

"The Madraka is deceitful even to his friends. A person who is always hostile to us may be said to be a Madraka. There can be no friendly tie with the Madraka because his word cannot be trusted and his heart is full of malice. The Madrakas represent the height of evil. They have a strange custom that the parents, sons, and daughters, fathers-

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and mothers-in-law, brothers and sisters, sons-in-law, grandsons, friends, guests, servants, and female attendants, strangers and acquainted ones both male and female come together in common assemblies. They assemble in the homes of rich men and eat flat round cakes of fried barley and drink it in liquid form. They even go to the length of eating cow's meat (*Gomāṁsa*) and drink wines and make loud noise transgressing the morality, giving an expression of their having completely departed from Dharma. Such a Madraka deserves not either friendship or enmity. The Madraka does not believe in the purity (*śaucha*) and rules of untouchability (*duḥsparśam*, 27.90). The Madraka feigning friendship stings like a scorpion. The Madraka women in sheer intoxication throw off their dress and dance shamelessly, even going to the length of unrestrained erotic indulgence, (Karṇa Parva, Ch. 30.30-33). These were the European manners abhorent to Indians. It is supported by the book entitled '*Greek Life*', p. 265 that the members assembled in these revelries ate flat round cakes of barley (*saktu-piṇḍī*). The women brawl and crackle. They have priests maintained by the State (*Rāja-yājaka*). Whatever is done as an offering by these priests is meaningless, and gifts to them are a waste (*nashṭaṁ dattaṁ havir-bhavet*, 27.81). They hate the Brāhmaṇas and have virtually the character of Śūdras. The Madraka manners require purification by reciting mantras of the Atharva-Veda. This is evidently a reference to the Saturnalia performances of unrestrained merry-making which were repugnant to Brāhmanical standards. Their women convenience themselves in a standing pose as does the she camel in country of the Daseraka. They have deparated from all sense of shame. The Madraka woman begs to drink a cup of *suvīraka* (sour gruel). The other makes a reply in strange gesticulation of limbs, 'I can part with my husband and son and not with a cup of sour liquid'. Their women are of large stature, shameless, wear woollen clothes and are voracious, bereft of any sense of purity, so have we heard and we together with others have much to say in this matter. The Madrakas are soaked in sin from head to foot. They had their birth in Mlechchha land, how do they know the Dharma (27.91) ?

The Greeks in Bactria were known as Bāhlīka-Yavanas but when they came to the country of the Vāhīka or five rivers they became famous as Madraka-Yavanas whose blatant and vulgar morals are flamboyantly described. A person who gives up proper *āchāra* in this life is bound to be born as a Yavana, in the next life. That which once was the holy land was now regarded as *Kudeśa*.

These passages are recorded as *Purāvṛitta Kathā*, information based on antiquity, preceding traditions about Bāhlīka-deśa and Madra, namely Bactrians and the Indo-Greeks (30.9). They once were settled in Bāhlīka but now transferred to Sākala with its river Āpagā. Their general character was low (*sunindita vṛitta*), 30.14), their women indulged in nude dances, eating a lot of garlic, *gomāṁsa*, *āsava*, meat, cutlets and cakes (*apūpamāṁsa-vāṭyā*). In their city-halls they assemble

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with perfumes and garlands, singing in their moods of intoxication like the asses and camels (30.17). They have women without husbands (*svāmibhartṛihatā*) who are known as '*Hā hate*', a Sanskrit term which has never been correctly understood but which clearly conceals the Greek word 'hetaira'. The original reading *Hehate* is clearly preserved in the commentary of Arjuna Miśra. (*Hāhate hā hatetyeva svāmibhartṛihateti cha*, 30.18). Such women of the aristocratic Bāhlīkas are said to have had prominent cheek-bones (*sthūlaśaṁkhāḥ*), fair complexion, wearing thin woollen clothes and beautifying their eyes with collyrium. They were fond of jumping steps in their dance (*kūradantyaḥ*) and ate bread *Apūpa* and *Saktu-piṇḍī*. The Bāhlīkas were generally regarded as Vrātyas who lived by voilence (*Pathishu prabalā bhūtvā*, 30.24).

The third passage (Karṇa, 30.27-33) is specially important as giving a true picture of the Bacchanalian revelries at Sākala, capital of Madra where night orgies and secret rites in worship of various gods under the general cult of Bacchus were held. After eating a lot of beef (*gavya-māṁsa*), pork (*Vārāha*), mutton (*aiḍa*) and becoming drunken in the extreme some people retire and thereafter a second libation introduced the singing of symposial hymns which in Sanskrit are called as *Ghoshikā gāthā*.[25]

It is a florid picture of the orgystic festivals as current amongst the Indo-Greeks. The fourth passage (30.35-37) refers to the land of five rivers including Trigarta as the country without sacrifices and without religion (*nashṭa dharma*) where the community of rich merchants remains without sacrifices (*ayajvan*) spending more or less a life similar to that of the Vrātyas. This is said of those Bāhlīkas that they are without a system of Devas, Pitṛis and Ṛishis to receive their cult-offerings.

A learned Brāhmaṇa communicated to a religious gathering (*Sādhu Saṁsad*; passage V., Karṇa, 30-38) that the Bāhlīkas ate in earthen and wooden utensils (*Kāshṭhakuṇḍeshu Bāhlīkā mṛiṇmayeshu cha bhuñjate*) which is a precise reference to the Greek pottery (*Life of Greeks and Romans*' pp. 141-2), and that they remained indifferent to their ceramics filled with eaten groats licked by dogs. They use milk produced by sheep, asses and camels and eat preparations made of them using indiscriminately all kinds of food preparations and milk. Those fools used their utensils with interpollution (*pātra-saṁkāriṇaḥ*); wise men should avoid mixing with the Āraṭṭa-Bāhlīkas.

Another driblet of information trickled through a Brāhmaṇa, 30.41) that an Ārya should not visit and stay amongst the *Āraṭṭa Bāhlīkas* even for a couple of days (Karṇa, 30.43) or eat and drink in their cities. There are two blood-thirsty ogres on the banks of the Beas whose brood is the Bāhlīkas and they are not in any manner the normal progeny of Prajāpati (30.44). Their customs are as depraved (*durdharma*) as possibly anywhere else, amon gst the foresters of Kīkaṭa and Māhishaka. One should, therefore, avoid the Bāhlīkas. In the Āraṭṭa region of the Bāhlīkas is a female Rākshasī named Ulūkhalamekhalā (Yakshī of the club-girdle) who says that

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the people of Vasāti-Sindhu and Sauvīra are generally notorious (30.47).

"Next do I say (Pass. VII. śl 48) that some Brāhmaṇas from Madhyadeśa became guests of Śilpins in Bāhlīka, and amongst the Bāhlīkas they found a strange perversion of social conditions for a poet-philosopher (Brāhmaṇa) becomes a warrior and then makes change of profession of a Vaiśya or a slave and finally a barber and again a Brāhmaṇa and again a slave. Even in one family one person is a philosopher and the others follow different professions as they like. Such is the custom amongst the Gāndhāras, Madrakas and the Bāhlīkas.[26]

"In my wanderings of the earth I met this perversion amongst the Bāhlīkas only" (*Kṛitsnam aṭitvā pṛithivīṁ Bāhlikeshu viparyayaḥ*) (Karṇa, 30.56). Another statement (30.57 f.) about Bāhlīka *vikutsita* is even more witriolic as coming from a ravished woman in the form of a curse against all Bāhlīka women-folk that they would be slave girls in each family (*Bandhakyo vai kuleshu vaḥ* 30.59). The Arya land is definitely said to have been demarcated from Bāhlīka and included the regions of Kuru, Pañchāla, Sālva, Matsya, Naimisha, Kosala, Kāśī, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Magadha and Chedi. This was the political condition in the time of the Śuṅgas and the Brāhmaṇa credited with above comments about the Bāhlīkas seems to be a meaningful reference. It is said that the ancient Dharma (*Purāṇa Dharma*) prevailed in this Aryan region except in the country of Madra and Pañchanada (30.62). Even the Grand Sire (*Pitāmaha*) of the world felt horrified at the abject morals of the Pañchanadas (30.65) and expressed his displeasure by uttering 'shame' (*dhik*). The morals of the Aryan classes were contrasted as *svadharma* (30.66).

A much more damaging estimate of the Bāhlīka society occurs as follows :

Malāṁ pṛithivyā Vāhlīkāḥ.

The Vāhlīkas are the slag of earth. Amongst the women slag are the Madra women. Amongst men the Yavana-Mlechchhas are dirt, of the Mlechchhas Yavanas themselves, the worst are their gladiators, amongst them fistfighters (*mauṣṭhikāḥ*), the most notorious are those who are like uncastrated bulls. Even worse than the beast-fighters are the imbecile priests appointed by the State (*Rāja-yājaka*). They are trained by slow drugging as idiotic persons of weak intellect (*Vishavīrya hatā*), secondly, they become prossessed by evil spirits (*rākshopasṛishṭa*). Under that influence they advocate a solution of all evils and problems (*rākshasa-bheshaja*) and that takes the form of their Oracles consisting of questions and answers having the status of divine vindicatins (*saṁsiddhāni vachanottaram*, 30.72). A summary of the degraded morals of the Āraṭṭas is given in 30.74.

From the above it is clear that about a score of Indo-Greek institutions are clearly mentioned here as part of a strange wave of calumny which spread in all the Janapadas of Āryāvarta from Kuru-Pañchāla to Aṅga and from Saurāshṭra to Chedi and Kaliṅga. This had the official approval of a certain Brāhmaṇa

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(*kaśchid Brāhmaṇa*) who released it as a venom to prejudice the popular mind against the Indo-Greeks of the Panjab, Gandhāra and Bactria. This *Kaśchid Brāhmaṇa* may have been Pushyamitra Śuṅga himself and his *Saṁsad*, if serious historians will accept such a hint, otherwise the nondescript evidence itself is of convincing weight. In the end, in spite of this black painting the Yavanas are said to be knowledgeable in all matters and brave fighters (*Sarvajñā yavanā rājañchhūrāśchaiva viśeshataḥ* 30.80), and the Bāhlīkas to be valiant (*Pratirabdhāstu Bāhlīkāḥ*, 30.81) and ready for battle.

This floating text of 94 Gāthās (27.71-91 ; 30.9-81) is clearly an interpolation being emboxed in the framework of a śloka read once in the beginning (27.70) and again at the end (30.82). There are two other interpolated chapters, viz., the *Haṁsakākīya* (ch. 28) and *Karṇaśāpa* (ch. 29) which interrupt the epic flow but which have little to do with *Madraka-kutsana* but certainly were of an earlier stratum. We should be thankful to the redactor who preserved this unique document about the Indo-Greeks in the epic where it has remained unsuspected all these centuries.

IRANIAN ELEMENT IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

We may dissect another important portion of the epic having similar significance about the Iranians. It is deftly woven into the *Nārāyaṇīya Parva* (Chs. 321-339) of the Mokshadharma Parva. This long text of 22 chapters and one thousand verses has long been recognised as the source of epic Vaishṇavism but its real significance has remained hidden. It is a very obstruse document of the Ekāntin Bhāgavatas following the cult of Nārāyaṇa and of the Iranian religion based on the philosophy of Ahurmazda and his Ameshaspandas and Yazads (=Yajatas). This was a unique endeavour in the annals of Sanskrit authorship in which about a hundred Bhāgavata terms and institutions have been compared with their counterparts in the Iranian religion and vice-versa. It is the cream of the synthesis between the two great religious movements of India and Iran brought about most likely during the reign of Kushāṇa emperors Kanishka and Huvishka when the Greek and Iranian deities were represented on the coins and their worship permeated the whole atmosphere. This is here referred to as the pantheon of 21 Yajatas believed in Iran. The spearhead of this synthesis was selected to be Nārada on the part of the Bhāgavatas styled as Ekāntins, believers in one supreme reality who was Nārāyaṇa on the Indian side and Ahurmazda on the Iranian, whose name was sanskritised as *Harimedhas*. References to Harimedhas are found several times in this chapter and also in some of the Purāṇas. He is mentioned as Sanātana Deva-deva (323.10) or Deva Harimedhas (323.12 ; 336.28 ; 337.54). The word *Ahu* meaning unique one, the only one, was equated with *Ekānta*. Nārada resorts to Badarīnātha where he saw the Bhāgavata Ṛishis Nara-Nārāyaṇa performing *tapas* and when he questioned about the nature

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of supreme reality, he was advised to go to the Śveta-Dvīpa on the banks of the Kshīroda Samudra that is Kshīrārṇava the ancient name of the Caspian. Nārada went to Śvetadvīpa and there had a vision of god Harimedhas and of the seven Ameshaspandas described here as *saptachitra śikhaṇḍa muni* (322.26-27). *Spenta* actually meant 'white', but rendered by false Sanskritisation as *Śikhaṇḍa* who are also referred to in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. He also found there a special Bhakti cult (331.41 ; 323.48). He met there special class of priests known as the Dasturs who are spoken of as *Chandra-Prakāśa* white in complexion like the moon, *atīndriyāḥ* (322.9) or *sarvendriya-vivarjita*, leading a life of calibacy and not attracted by any sense-pleasure, *anaśanāḥ* (322.9, 322.13) visibly not eating any food but living on the foaming haoma (Phenapāchārya, *nishpandahīnāḥ* looking at the Sun with winkless eyes, *susugandhinaḥ* burning inscence and purfumes ; of white complexion (*śvetāḥ purushāḥ*, 323.47). This is a reference to the high priests of the religion of Zarathushtra, viz. Dasturs (Pehalavi—Dastobāra), Herbeds (Pehalavi—Ayethrepati, firemasters) and Mobeds (Pehalavi—Mogpaiti) all of them being designated as *Mānavāśchandravarchasaḥ*. The Zarvanites (Kālavādins of Iran) assert that Ahurmazda as the supreme light brought forth a number of persons all of light and only a spiritual, divine nature (*Studies in Honour of Sanjan, p.* 72). These are mentioned as followers of Ekānta Doctrine (*Ekāntabhāvopagata*) and therefore called Ekāntin (*Ekāntinaste Purushāḥ*, 323.26), and shining like the lustre of the Sun (323.31-36) who performed the Mānasajapa of Brahma Nara-Nārāyaṇa, were advocates of the Sātvata Dharma (323.5, 321.22) which received a transfusion of the Ekāntin Doctrine of the Ekāntins. King Vasu, the great (Mahān) is especially mentioned as performing the bloodless secrifice (*Ahiṁsaka Yajña*). He was a devotee of Nārāyaṇa (*Madbhakta, madbhāvita*, 322.44-45-47). Amongst other Iranian motifs, there is a wide reference to a *Śatasāhasraśāstra* which was the source of Dharma relating to all branches of social order (322.36-37, 322.44) which is the same as Dinkard. In the palace of Vasu lived *Pañcharātravid-mukhyāḥ*, i. e. knowers of Gahanbars, also referred to as Pañchakālajña (323.42). There is mention of the effulgent light of God Harimedhas, which in the form of Śānti permeats the Siddha followers of that God (331.44-45). This corresponds to the Śānti Doctrine of Zarathushtra, termed as *Akshtish*, Peace which is spoken of as a cooperator and inseparable companion of good mind or Vohumano

(*śāntiḥ sā trishu lokesh siddhānāṁ bhāvitātmanāṁ,*
etayā śubhayā buddhyā naishṭhikaṁ vratamāsthitaḥ. 331.45),

who had a halo (*prabhāmaṇḍala durdṛisha*, 323.49) and who was bright like a thousand Suns. The scripture of one lac ślokas was brought into existence for the Ṛishis of the Śvetadvīpa with the aid of Sarasvatī who was impelled by Nārāyaṇa (322.32, 36). She is the same as Ṛitā Devī equal

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to Asha–Vahishta (*ṛitā brahmasutā sa me satyā devī sarasvatī*).

Nārāyaṇa says that the visible and invisible worlds or matter and mind or spirit were pervaded by his benevolence (*Māyāveshitamātmani*, 330.11). He is the Supreme First Cause or Primeval Power (*Paurvika Sattva*) Ahuna-vairya, which manifests as both *Sat* and *Asat* (Huda-Aongha), the conscious state emerging from unoconscious, *Anamanthvao.* The Great God is called *Ṛitadhāmā*, having Ashem as his glory. He is Law of right order and holiness (Ashavahishta), quintessence of morality (*Dhāma sāro hi lokānām amṛitaṁ chaiva vichāritam*, 330.4). No impure object and no obscene deity has ever disfigured these Zoroastrian sacred writings of any age or time (*noktapūrvaṁ mayā kshudram aślīlaṁ vā kadāchana*, 330.10). The great God resides in *Paushkara Brahma-sadana* as Satya or Sattva that is Righteousness as the First Cause or Ahuna Vairya. The *Paushkara Brahma-sadana* is a reference to the mysterious Niru (*Āpo nārāḥ*) of the great Ahu Spirit. This nothingness is in a sleeping condition, that is to say, merged condition into the great Niru mysteries of Ahu. There is also mention of the angel Vohuman (=Vasumanas or good mind) under the Sanskrit name *Vichāritam* and of *Amertāt* as *Amṛitam* (330.4). Ashavahishta (Devī Sarasvatī Ṛitādevī) is said to be the second creation, being the First to be produced (*prathama sargajā*) under the direct supervision of Vohuman, who was the first amongst the Original Creations of Ahurmazda. The volume and the contents of the *Dinkard* correspond to the Śatasahasra-śāstra (322.3 ; 322.50) which is the complete source of Deena and manners, customs and laws of the Iranians (*Lokatantrasya kṛitsanasya yasmāddharmaḥ pravartate*). Dharma is the same as Deena, Pehalavi Data, which is the subject of Datic Naskhs or Books VIII and IX of the *Dinkard*. This includes the complete statement of the positive side of life (*Pravṛitti*) and also of renunciation (*Nivṛitti*) (*Pravṛittau cha Nivṛittau cha yoniretadbhavishyati*, 322.37). A new theory of a mingled Scripture with contents derived from Svāyambhuva Mānavadharmaśāstra and of Auśanasa Dharmaśāstra was inculcated. (322.43). The Ameshspandas are called Prakṛitis and the Yazads, who are the supreme creations of Ahurmazda (*Yachchabhūtābhiśabditam*), Mihira (Sūrya), Mah (Chandramas), Vāto (Vāyu), Azar (Agni), Aban (Āpaḥ) and Spendarmāt (Bhūmi) and all the Tistriya deities (*sarva cha nakshatragaṇāḥ* 322.38-39). There were two others, viz. Angra Mainyu (*Krodhaja Rudra*) and Spenta Mainyu (Prasādaja Brahmā, 322.38). Vedic Trita, who became Thṛita in Avesta is also mentioned. Ahurmazda is called the eternal God of infinite glory (*Sanātana sahasrārchish deva* 323.25). His daughter is Hvarr or glory shown as a girl inside a ring or ribboned disk described as Dhvjavatī Kumārī and stationed in the sky, courted by Mitra or the Sun-god (*atra dhvajavatī nāma kumārī harimedhasaḥ. Akāśe tishṭha tishṭheti tasthau Sūryasya śasanāt*, Udyogaparva, 108.13). This is here described as tejas (Glory) which is framed by its own halo (*svayaṁbhāsāvabhāsita*, 331.44, 332.5,

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Prabhāmaṇḍala - durdṛiśaḥ, 323.49). The holy priests made themselves pure in word, deed and thought, an obvious reference to Hukhta (Sūkta, good word), Humata (=Sumata, good thought) and Huvarshta (*Suvṛitta*, good deeds):

Nānṛitā vāk samabhavanmano dushṭaṁ na chābhavat
Na cha kāyena kṛitavān sa pāpaṁ paramaṇvapi (322.25).

Here *pāpa* is the same as *Druj* (evil). Those who practise such perfection were the seven Ameshaspandas, here termed as *Munayaḥ chitraśikhaṇḍinaḥ* (322.26). These seven Archangles are made to correspond to the Vedic Seven Primeval Sages (322.27). There is also reference to Śreyas equal to Iranian Sraosha, a most unique and prominent Spiritual power in Mazdanian thoelogy, who is the first listener of Divine Revelation and signifies the Yajata of the Spiritual personification (Brahma) of obedience to the Divine will or order (*Idaṁ śreya idaṁ brahma idaṁ hitamanuttamam*, 322-29, 331.11). The chief duty of the seven primeval good spirits is the preservation of the Universe (*etābhirdhāryate lokaḥ*, 322.28). They produced the doctrine of *Maryādā*, now known as *Hadda* (cf. RV. X. 5.6 *Sapta maryādā kavayastatakshuḥ tāsāmidamekām abhyaṁhuro'gāt*; *tasya devasya māryādāṁ pūjayanti sanātanīm*, 321.35, 322.307, 326.59). The one who transgrssed these limits was called Angra Mainyu (=Aṅgiras of the *Ṛigveda*). In Parsi religion divinity has two aspects, viz. the Absolute or Ahu Anamanthvao (equal to Sanskrit *Triguṇa-Vyatirikta* Avyakta) and Ahurmazda who is the *Saguṇa* or Vyakta aspect (321.27-30). They believe in the twenty-one Yajatas or Devas and the Fravashis or Pṛitis for whom a full chapter (*Nārāyaṇīye Pitṛisargakathanam*, ch. 333.1-25) is devoted and the spirits of the Manes is given in *Arda Viraf* (cf. reference to *Varāharūpa* 326.72 and *Pitryavidhi*). There is also mention of the religious shrines as *Dharmagṛiha* (322.2; 326.13), Parsi Atishkadeh, which were built in the style of domestic architecture.

In chap. 325 there is a prose-*stotra* recited by Nārada consisting of 171 epithets including such as *Chitraśikhaṇḍin* (*Chitra* may be from Iranian *Chithra*), Harimedhas (Ahurmazda), Sāmika-vratadhara (source of the harmonies, an epithet of Ahurmazda), Abhagnaparisaṁkhyāna (most discerner, said of Ahurmazda), Phenapāchārya (great teacher of the foam=haom—drinking priest), Saṁjñāsaṁjña (conscious Hudaonga emerging from the unconscious Anamanthvao), Ābhāsura (glorious), Mahābhāsura (most glorious), Saptamahābhāsura (seven most glorious archangels or Ameshaspentas), Yāmya, Mahāyāmya (Yimakshaeta=Jemshed), Amṛita (=Amesha), Vasuprada (giver of all good things), Mahāprajāpati (greatest ruler), Vanaspati (tree of Ahura or life), Ṛitadhāman (holy order), etc. We also find some very long lists of the titles and excellences of Ahurmazda. The Yasta dedicated to Ahurmazda enumerates 74 honorific epithets conferred on him. It is said that originally there were one thousand names of Ahurmazda of which only 101 remain now in the editions of

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Vendidad Sadeh which are common to many epithets of this *stotra*. This style is unique in Sanskrit literature and has been borrowed verbatim in the *Vishṇudharmottara* III. 350 and the *Vishṇu Smṛiti* (pp. 203-206) in the form of a *stotra* by Pṛithivī to Vishṇu.

The reference to the '*jitaṁ te*' formula was based on the belief that Verethraghn's one gift to whomsoever he favours is victory (Verethra, Victory or jitam, 323.39 ; 326.122). This formula as *jitaṁ bhagavatā* (326-122) was acccepted by the Bhāgavatas and is found in the Poona Cooper-plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā.

There is a reference to Bareshma (Barsom=Darbha or Kuśamushṭi), rosary made of stone-beads (326.9), the fire always kept burning (*javlita hutāśana*), *Vedi, kamaṇḍalu, ajina* and *Daṇḍakāshṭha*, which are said to be the forms of Ahurmazda and kept in the Dharmagṛiha shrine which are to be worshipped at all time.[27]

The Nārāyaṇīya Parva is thus an unparalleled text in Sanskrit literature which has much deeper meaning and deserves to be studied in the light of Indo-Iranian religious synthesis as emerged during the Sassano-Gupta times. The *Pañchakāla* was the Pañjagāh or the five divisions of the night and day and the *Pañchakālakartṛigati* priests (325.59) seem to be the priests offering daily prayers enjoined on every Zoroastrian (323.42). The reference to the utterance of prayer beginning with the words *jitam* and *namaste* is qualified by the epithet *śikshākshara-samīritaḥ* (323.40). This would correspond on the Iranian side to the prayer to Verethreghn the genius of victory which was committed to memory and muttered according to rules of phonetics which is likely a hint to Behram Yashta.

ANCIENT SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY

The genesis of the Mokshadharma Parva shows that there are two distinct layers, firstly, the material of the thought of the individual philosophical schools enumerated in the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* (*Kālaḥ svabhāve niyatir yadṛichchhā*. I. 2), e.g. *Kālavāda* (Śāntiparva, chap. 217.1-55), *Svabhāvavāda* (chap. 215.15) ; *Niyativāda* (171.2-4), *Yadṛichchhāvāda* (217.45), *Yonivāda* (178.21-23), etc. These were doctrines of individual philosophers reaching back to the period of the Upanishads and pre-Buddhism from where the material floated into the epic and has been preserved in a richer version than in a Pāli text. The other bunch of material is much later and belongs to the Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Pāśupata and Vaishṇava schools of the classical age which were then together with the orthodox Vedic tradition known as *Kṛitānta Pañchaka*

(*Sāṁkhyaṁ yogaṁ pāñcharātraṁ Vedāḥ*
pāśupataṁ tathā,
Kṛitāntapañchakaṁ hyetat śāstrāṇi vividhāni cha.
Vishṇudharmottara, I. 22.133 ;
Agni, 219.61 ; *Śānti*. 337.57).

The Vedic tradition was also known as Trayī, Upanishad and Vedānta. These five made a common cause for the revival and reorganisation of Vedic Dharma in

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the Gupta age (*Śānti*, 337.59-68 ; *Devī-bhāgavata*, I. 17.76) and were recognised as having a common objective (*Ekanishṭhāni*), to be overlapping and concordant (*paras-parāṅgāni*), characterised by mutual give and take or as parts of a unified religious movement.

Thus the range of subjects for research in the *Mahābhārata* is almost limitless and is awaiting the second round of epic investigation.

THE ANCIENT INDIAN FOLK-CULTS

The ancient Indian folk-cults is a subject for which the epics and the early Jaina and Buddhist texts offer much material. These were known as *Maha*, *Vrata*, *Yātrā* and the list includes such folk-religious festivals as Rukkhamaha, Nadīmaha, Girimaha, Avaṭamaha, Samudramaha, Stūpamaha, Cheiyamaha, Yakkhamaha, Nāgamaha, Koṭṭakiriyāmaha (cult of the goddess Koṭṭavī, the South Indian Nude Mother Goddess), Indramaha, Surujamaha, Chandamaha Brahmamaha, Khanda (Skanda) Maha, Diśāvrata, the last being a very ancient cult which goes back to the pre-Vedic times and is found in a full-fledged form in the *Ṛigveda* and *Atharvaveda* (AV. 4.40.1-8).

THE PROBLEM OF VEDIC INTERPRETATION (*Veda-Vidyā*)

Sanskrit research is verily thousand-headed, a mighty form of the *Sahasraśīrshā Purusha*, which will exhibit its true form in conformity with the power of mind of the research scholars of the future. Amongst all these fields of research the highest is that of the Vedas. Although a century of research has preceded but Vedic meaning is still obscure. Many approaches have been tried but the key lies in decoding the significance of symbols. The Vedic thinkers adopted by choice the esoteric language of symbolism termed *Paroksha* and *Nidāna* in the Brāhmanical literature. One should be prepared to grapple with an extensive alphabet constituting the formulation of Vedic cosmology, cosmogony, theogony and metaphysics. We may notice a few examples. Indra is derived from the root *indha dīptau* and is equated with Madhya Prāṇa the central vital airs or the mysterious life-principle in each individual centre. Many of his epithets are the same as of Agni, the latter being the same as Vaiśvānara or Prāṇāgni also known as *Ūshmā*, Temperature or *Tapas* i.e. Heat also termed as *Abhīddha Tapas* or *Agraja Tapas* or *Devaushuya* (*Mait. Up.* II. 6). This was Agni also called *Rochanā* or *Jyoti* which is produced by the friction of Prāṇa and Apāna (*Antaś charati Rochanāsya prāṇādapānatī*, RV. X. 189.2.) and also symbolised as the Spotted Bull (*Pṛiśni Gauḥ*) or *Ukshā Pṛiśni*, viz. Sūrya being cooked for each cosmic system by the world-building forces. The dung or *pravargya* of this bull is burning as the smoke or radiating gases (*śakamaya dhūma*) that we see in the Sun. Agni in its primordial condition is one but at every point it is three-fold (*tridhātu*) in the form of Prāṇa, Apāna and Vyāna or better still Manas, Prāṇa, Vāk (Mind, Life and Matter) the basic triune entity of the universe.

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The individual Vaiśvānara fire is within all bodies as formed by Prāṇa and Apāna and controlling the digestive activity as mentioned in the *Gītā* (15.14) summarising the Vedic Vaiśvānara Vidyā.[8] The Vaiśvānara power of the individual is in rivalry with that of the immortal universal energy of the Sun (*Vaiśvānaro yatate Sūryaṇa*). This fiery energy is produced in matter and seen functioning in the material body (*Ito jāto ita evā vichashṭe Vaiśvānaro yatate Sūryeṇa*). Agni, Vāyu Āditya or these physical, vital and psychical persons are the three composite Purushas making up the Baphometic life-principle which through the three gods Agni, Vāyu and Āditya controls the three worlds of Pṛithivī, Antariksha and Dyauḥ which are the spheres of mother goddess Aditi. She generates the Devas, the Seven Ādityas as manifesting in Mārtāṇḍa or Golden Egg to carry out the twin functioning of both birth and death (*prajāyai mṛityave tvat*...). Aditi had eight sons. She approached the Seven Āditya gods for creativity but they were immortal and therefore did not succeed. Creation in matter requires a cycle of both immortality and death (*Amṛita, Mṛityu*) and this was found in the centre of Sūrya which has both energy and matter. The Trayī doctrine was said to be exemplified in Sūrya (*saishā trayī vidyā tapati*) and it consisted of a triple movement, viz. Ṛik, Yajus, Sāman in which Ṛik stands for the expanding diameter (*mūrti*), Sāman for circumference (*tejorūpa* or *maṇḍala*) and Yajus for the movement in the centre (*Yājushī gatiḥ, Gopatha* and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*). This Trayī Vidyā is the foundation of Vedic thought—also called a *Trita* and expressed by a symbolism of many statements. It was linked to that of the three fires of Yajña also called (*Triṇāchiketa*) and *Trisuparṇa* (of the Three Birds) explained as Gāyatrī, Trishṭup and Jagatī. These were the three metres, or the birds on a flight to heaven from where the drink of immortality (*amṛita-ghaṭa*) was transported to Pṛithivī or the level of matter. These three are the forms of Vāk that is Supraṇī or the great Supraṇa of golden wings (*Hiraṇya-paksha Haṁsa*) which by its flapping of wings keeps mortal matter of the earth with immortal spirit of heaven in inter-communion. Heaven and Earth or Sūrya and Agni are the two contiguous boilers (*Gharmā samantā*, RV., X.114.1) which are related to each other by the force of Mātariśvā or the intervening Prāṇa and which keep the milk of heaven (*Divaspayaḥ*) at a point of temperature or heat fixed for ever. These two are also the exemplars of the two bay-steeds of Indra which are said to be yoked to his chariot (*Ṛiksāmābhyāṁ prarathaṁ vartayanti*, RV. X. 114.6 ; *Harī Indrasya ni chikāya kaḥ svit*, 9). Essentially this was the pattern of cosmic movement with a polarity of tensions of a dynamic character. The Vedic seers mention it as measuring out by the force of Rajas (*Rajaso vimānaḥ*) and reinforced by numerous dualities or a complex dichotomy called *Amṛita-Mṛityu, Ahorātra, Sadasad, Kṛishṇa* and *Arjuna* (*Ahaścha Kṛishṇamahararjunaṁ cha*, RV. VI. 9.1). This is the *Daivāsuram* pattern of the Ṛigvedic mythology, the eternal conflict between the

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forces of light and darkness or the ethereal *Sauparṇeyas* and chthonic *Kādraveyas* (of the Kadrū-Suparṇī legend of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which appears in such a stupendous form in the beginning of the *Mahābhārata*) who are the same as the Garuḍa-Nāga motif of Indian art representing the feud between the Eagles and the Vipers. The doctrine of three lights (*Trīṇi Jyotīṁshi*) based on Agni, Vāyu and Āditya is familiar in the *Ṛigveda* and *Yajurveda* as an integrated scheme of the three Devas, three Purushas, three Fires and three Thousands (*Trisāhasrī*) or Infinities of Mind, Life and Matter constituting the self (*Saisha ātmā manomayo vānmayaḥ Prāṇamayaḥ*). The true meaning of *tapas* is the enkindling of fire or heat, viz. the descent of divine self on the plane of matter and the potency of this *tapas* depends on the subtle refinement of metabolic fire (*Prāṇāgni*) to consume food (*Anna*). This was regarded as the esoteric knowledge in the Vedas.

We may also draw attention to some other motifs of Vedic thought, viz. Prakṛiti the infinite nature as a maiden of four tresses(*Chatush kaparadā yuwati*) with endless power of generation, symbolised by Ghṛita on her visage (*Ghṛitapratīkā*), in which *Ghṛita* stands for seed or Agni (*Pṛishadājya*). Universal paternity of Dyāvā-Pṛithivī recumbent to each other as two inverted bowls is an important doctrine of Ṛigvedic thought. They are the two oceans or paunches of Varuṇa (*Uto samudrau Varuṇasya kukshī*, AV. IV. 16.3). He who enkindles *Prāṇāgni* or creates a Bush of Fire, performs *tapas*. Prajāpati has to do it each time. He eats his food of *Brahmaudana* for creating the cosmos. Man on earth is compared to an *Arka* pant, Calotropis Gigantea, which flourishes in the hottest part of the year as deriving its energy from the rays of the universal Sun.

Vishṇu in the RV. takes three strides (*Trivikrama*) as triple time or triple space riding on his *Chhandomaya Garuḍa*. He holds a perfect wheel (*Vṛitta Chakra*) formed by four right angles of 90° each (*Chaturbhiḥ sākaṁ navatiṁ cha nāmabhiśchakraṁ na vṛittam*, RV. I. 155.6). The power of movement is called *Ṛikvan* by which Vishṇu who is *Vāmana* or *Yuvā Kumāra* becomes cosmic, viz. *Bṛihachchharīra*, *Virāṭ* (RV. ibid.). For Agni the *Vāmana-Virāṭ* conception is expressed as the young and the old priest (*Vāma palita hotā*).

The cosmos is conceived of as the wish-fulfilling Sacrifice (*Kāmapra Yajña*) of Prajāpati or as *Sarvahut Yajña*, i.e. a sacrifice in which the creator offered a totality of his self. Prajāpati himself is *Prathamachchhad* the archetypal who has entered the chain of all subsequent creations (*prathamachchhad avarāñ āviveśa*). This was the doctrine of *Anupraveśa*, the cosmogonical basis of the three-fold cause as *Adhishṭhāna*, *Ārambhaṇa* and *Grabhaṇa*. We also find the two principles of *Pramā* and *Pratimā* (RV. X. 130.3), the former termed as *Iyattā* and the latter as *Īdṛiktā* by the Bhāgavatas (*Raghu*. XIII.5). An important idea of the *Ṛigveda* is that of the Bull-Cow (*Vṛishabhaścha dhenuḥ*) and of her milk (*payaḥ*) also termed as the immortal milk of heaven (*Divaspayaḥ*), whose butter is the seed of creation and the associated symbolism of the cowherds,

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Sūrya and Agni (*anipadyamāna gopā*). The four-horned bull (*Chatuḥśṛiṅga Vṛishabha*) is identified with Agni, the same as Sūrya or vehicle of Indra, and the four-horned bison (*Chatuḥśṛiṅga Gaura*) with the vehicle of Varuṇa. These were the two-fold Ṛigvedic symbols of life and water respectively. The universal cow whose milk sustains the whole creation is *Virāj* the same as Aditi. These symbols are not only wide-spread in Vedic texts but also carried to Purāṇic mythology where the cow is *Kāmadhenu* as one of the jewels churned out of the primeval ocean. The Mountain chariot of Sūrya is the solar system moving by the tensional disposition of the seven rays also described as a thousand fleet cows of many horns. The Śatarudriya Chapter of the *Yajurveda* (Book 16) is one of the most interesting documents of Vedic philosophy in which Rudra is Agni, i.e. Prāṇāgni having manifold aspects on the three levels of plant, animal and human life. They are both terrible (*Raudra* or *ghora*) and quiescent (*Śānta, aghora*). Their aspect is dreadful when outside Yajña. The Brāhmaṇas say that the Śatarudriya becomes *Śāntarudriya* under the effect of *Namaḥ*. Agni was the same as Rudra according to the RV. II. 1.6 and the Brāhmaṇas—*Agniravai Rudraḥ* (ŚB. 5.3.1) 10 ; 1.3.10). Indra is styled as Shoḍaśī Prajāpati comprising five sheaths of Mind or of consciousness (*Pañcha-kośa*), five vital airs (*Pañcha-Prāṇa*), and five gross elements of Matter (*Pañcha-bhūtas*) together with himself as the sixteenth transcendent power (*Trīṇi jyotīṁshi sachate sa shoḍaśī*, VS. 8.36, 32.5).

Vedic symbolism is a' dimensional subject both in extent and depth and would require many volumes and much time for its fuller exposition. The meaning of symbolism as recorded in Sanskrit literature of the Vedas and the Purāṇas presents an unbroken record in India which is of great value for decoding the religious and philosophical symbolism of Classical and Nordic mythologies in particular and world mythology in general. The story of the Seven Ducks or companions of Urvaśī, the celestial nymphs and of Purūravas her royal lover is of wide distribution. The seven nymphs are the Seven Sisters, *Saptasvasāraḥ* and the Seven Mothers, *Sapta Mātaraḥ*, known as *Sāta Achharā Māi* in North Indian Folk-lore. These have become the Seven Elves of European mythology. Urvaśī is the eldest of them who covenants to stay with Purūravas on a daily ration of one drop of butter. The drop of butter is the oblation of fire principle of life, energy, sufficient for each day of one's existence. She is the same as *Ghṛitāchī* the intelligence of Mitra and Varuṇa (RV. 1.2.7), the two gods who also fecundate Urvaśī (RV. VII. 33.10) described as the great flash of lightening (*Vidyuto jyotiḥ*). She is the symbol of the immortal energy of heaven loved by mortal man. Vasishṭha, the son of Mitrā-Varuṇa, is the primeval sage identified as Prāṇa in the Purāṇas, the priest of the Solar dynasty who performs Yajñas (cf. *Prāṇaḥ prajānām udayatyesha Sūryaḥ*). Mitra and Varuṇa are the archetypal gods of the Cosmic Night and Cosmic Day, who fill the

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Pūrṇa-ghaṭa of Dyāvā-Pṛithivī with their two-fold energy of Vasishṭha and Agastya, the former symbolising Prāṇa or fire and latter Apāna or waters. In the Vedas creation is conceived as produced by the differentiated Ṛishis (*Virūpāsaḥ Ṛishayaḥ*) which are explained as Prāṇic vibrations of deep stirrings (*Gambīravepasaḥ*) which fill the vast interval between earth and heaven. The original single Ṛishi is transformed into a team of seven (*Saptarshi*) who move in seven orbits (*Saptamaṇḍala*) or seven lengths (*Sapta maryādāḥ*). They are the Seven Solar Rays forming a unified ray. These cosmic truths expressed through a variety of symbols were created by the Indian Mind in Vedic formulation which have undergone much elaboration in the Purāṇas. Mitra and Varuṇa like Indra and Agni have left a deep impress on Vedic and Purāṇic mythology. These play their part between the *Rodasī* worlds of Dyāvā-Pṛithivī, viz. the subtle world of gods and the gross world of matter. The intervening space between each Dyāvā-Pṛithivī is symbolised as Mātariśvā or simply Śvā the Barking Hound. Ākāśa is that hound whose sound energy is conceived as the Dog Chant (*Śauva udgītha*) of the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*. This was spoken of in the *Ṛigveda*, as Śvā Indra (*Śunaṁ huvema maghavānam Indram*). Māyā, Śachī, Śakti, Śakvarī refer to the Prāṇic powers of Indra which measure out the realms of light and sound as Prāṇa and Vāk respectively, or Deva and Bhūta which enter into all subtle and gross constitution. The doctrine of Prāṇa included that of Vaiśvānara as shown above and also that of Kumāra propounded at length in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and in the great legend of Skanda or Kumāra Kārttikeya as handled by Kālidāsa in his own epic style or in the *Matsya Purāṇa* portion of Kumāra legend. The Purāṇas also elaborate the solar symbolism of Varāha as Boar incarnation of Vishṇu lifting the earth or rescuing the principle of motherhood from the abysmal depth of the primeval ocean. The proper word for Prāṇa in the *Ṛigveda* was *Hiraṇya* or Gold conceived of as the Golden Germ (Hiraṇyagarbha) Prajāpati, i.e. the creative principle energised by Prāṇic vibration.[30] Agni or fire is the primeval gold or speck of the life-principle which inheres in every egg. It is spoken of as two-fold consisting of Heat and Cold (*Hima* and *Ghraṁsa*, *Atharva*, 13.1.46).[31] The same Agni becomes Mitra in day time and Varuṇa at night. This tensional charge of the two forces makes every thing retain its proper functioning.[32] This two-fold integrated energy is known as Savitā Indra or Sūrya. The cosmic vibration is destined to survive till eternity and therefore it is said that the Golden Goose flying to the immortal world of the Devas flutters its wings for a thousand days.

PURANA-VIDYA

The great legend of Daksha and his sacrifice, of Manu and the Manvantaras, of the fight between the Great Goddess and the Buffalo Demon (Devī and Mahishāsura), of Vāmana and Vishṇu (the Dwarf and the Giant), of the cosmogonical conception of dissolution as the single ocean (*Ekārṇa-*

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vavidhi), of Mārkaṇḍeya having a vision of the Babe floating on a leaf of the cosmic tree (Time and Eternal Divine) are great legends of Purāṇic symbolism of which a concordance has to be made and explained in the light of Vedic symbolism. This is a task which will move the future course of Indological or Sanskrit research along lines hitherto only dimly envisaged. Comprehensive programmes of Sanskrit research await to be formulated during the coming fifty years and I have no doubt that the stout heart of the future Sanskritist will stand up and grapple successfully with these problems. Fortunately the Sanskrit literature to which I have referred earlier (as in the inventory of the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, Chs. XI & XII) is most massive as nowhere found on the surface of the earth for its metaphysical and cultural formulations. What appear to be sparks of the smouldering fire today will burst into pillars of conflagration tomorrow. That is our hope and conviction for which Sanskrit must live and prosper into the hearts of millions of men. It is a legacy towards which India should fulfil her obligation.

The first dawn of wisdom and knowledge made its appearance on the eastern horizon of the land of Bhārata, in her great hermitage academies or the *aśramas* of Ṛishis, as sung by the poet Ravindranāth Tagore.

PROTEAN NATURE OF INDIAN CIVILISATION

Indian thought evolved through the ages a new variable and versatile mould. The Sarasvatī of the *Ṛigveda* which symbolised the flood of culture (*Maho arṇaḥ Sarasvatī*) becomes Gaṅgā or the symbolic river of Indian civilisation called Brahmadravī, i.e. liquified Brahman. Each river is conceived as the daughter of Gaṅgā and each pool of water a new form of the sacred Mānasa lake or Brāhma-Sara. Thus keeping up the chain of sacred ideals through the ages Hiraṇyagarbha becomes Nārāyaṇa, Sūrya as Satya, Yajña as Sūrya, Pārameshṭhaya Soma as Kṛishṇa and all the sacred scriptures assume an authority of Veda. The Ṛishis of yore become the saints and sages who appear at all turns of cultural evolution in many parts of the country. The worship of Rudra becomes expanded as that of Bhairava and Śiva, Ṛigvedic Nṛitu as Naṭarāja, Vṛitra as Mahisha and Rāvaṇa.

India had a message for humanity in the form of looking at all people with her soul blossoming in the warmth of friendliness towards all (*Mitrasya chakshusā*). The thought of universal amity is the shield of the human spirit in India :

Viśvāmitrasya rakshati brahmedaṁ
bhāratam janam.

RV. III. 53.12

India's message has been heard in the cultural climates created by her great men. For example, Vālmīki created the fragrance of moral ideals in the life of Rāma. Vyāsa proclaimed the message of Dharma (*Namo dharmāya mahate dharmo dhārayate prajāḥ*). For him Man being the supreme consideration :

Guhyaṁ brahma tadidaṁ bravīmi
na hi mānushāt śreshṭhataraṁ hi kiñchit.

(Śānti., 180.12)

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'The secret knowledge I impart unto you that there is nothing higher than Man.' Buddha preached the philosophy of compassionate action (*karuṇātmaka-karma*). Kālidāsa speaks of the unity of all Āgamas or doctrines and many paths leading to the same summit through the miracle of beauty, love and devotion:

Bahudhāpyāgamairbhinnāḥ panthānaḥ siddhihetavaḥ, *Raghu.* 10.26.

The *Bhāgavata* was conceived as the sweet fruit dropped from the Wishfulfiling Tree of the Vedas (*Nigama-kalpatarorgalitaṁ phalam*) and its message is that God and Man are the aspects of the same reality:

Nārāyaṇo nara iti svatapaḥ prabhāvaḥ, *Bhāgavata*, II. 7.6.

and that God is in search of Man and Man by his *Tapas* may become divine. The message of India has been procliamed through many religious saints and philosophers like Śaṅkarāchārya, Śaṅkaradeva, Chaitanya, Jñāneśvara, Tulasī, Nānaka, etc. who kept the torch burning and that light shall continue to burn.

Our country owes a great debt of gratitude to the Purāṇic authors who maintained the integrity of cultural documentation for about a thousand years, reinterpreting the old and welcoming the new with rare enthusiasm and poetic talents. The Purāṇic literature and Vedic literature are like the ocean and the mountain surrounding the Indian continent. Superimposed layers of cultural movements are a feature of Indian life and their foils await to be elucidated. For example, according to the *Vāmana Purāṇa* the ancientmost goddess at Hiṅgulāja was the Tamila goddess Koṭṭavī. She became Nanā amongst the Iranians and finally Charchikā in Gupta times. The wave of Vaishṇava influence under the Guptas inundated many parts of the country. The Purāṇas have maintained those records and oriental research has to extricate them. Dhundhu is said to have gone as a pilgrim to the Vaishṇava centres on the banks of the Devikā, in the Panjab and Purūravas the Madra king repaired to the region of Rāvī in the Himalayas to pay homage to the great shrine of Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu there as mentioned in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. Oriental reserach is like a double-headed eagle (*Ubhayataḥ-śīrshṇī Suparṇī*) which must always look before and after. India will have to evolve as per her inherited tradition but fanning out into the growing orbits of modern times:

Agniḥ pūrvebhirṛishibhirīḍyo nūtanairuta, RV. I. 1.2.

Agni is to receive homage from Ṛishis both old and new.

VOLUME OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

It is gratifying to see the volume of Oriental Research being on the increase as the outcome of the combined efforts of the individual scholars and the institutes. The measure of government support is also growing. I should note with gratitude the publication of 'Prāchī' which is a digest of Indological research from Kurukshetra University initiated so well by Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri and Dr. Buddha Prakasha. In the first two

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volumes published so far not only the publications are indexed but gists of papers are also extracted to the benefit of reserach-workers. It has also taken notice of the research work being done at the Oriental Institutes in foreign countries.

The VVRI at Hoshiarpur under the direction of Pt. Vishvabandhu Shastri has issued a critical edition of the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā with Sāyaṇa-bhāhya in 5 volumes (1960-64) ; of the Eight-volume Critical Edition of the Ṛigveda with the commentaries of (i) Skandaswāmin, (ii) Mudgala, (iii) Udgītha and (iv) Veṅkaṭamādhava, 5 volumes have already been issued (1963-64). We are also informed of the 37-volume Tripartite *Vedic Lexicographical Project*, of which 20 volumes of the two parts, namely, the 16-volume Vedic Word-Concordance (1935-64) and the 6-volume *Grammatical Word-Indexes* (1963-64) have been published.

Glossaries of 25 North-western Himalayan dialects have been completed by Dr. Siddheshwar Varma which are now being processed for early publication.

The news of the discovery of the *Paippalāda Atharva Veda* by Dr. Durgamohan Bhattacharya, professor of Vedic language and literature at Sanskrit College, Calcutta in remote villages of Orissa has thrilled all Vedic scholars and he has fulfilled his obligation by publishing the first Kāṇḍa as Vol. I of the projected series.

At the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute the entire consituted text of the *Anuśāsana Parvan* comprising the Introdution, Concordance, Appendix passages and Critical Notes has been printed. The Institute has now undertaken the Critical Edition of the *Harivaṁśa* and has already started printing.

Many other distingushed scholars are working at many institutes and Universities which are mentioned in detail in Vol. II of the 'Prāchī'. Prof. R. K. Prabhu of South Kanara is specially working on Vedic symbolism in his own way.

I should, however, like to refer to the *Āgamakosha* undertaken by Kendrīya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Tirupati, as an encyclopaedia of Pāñcharātra, Vaikhānasa and Śaiva Āgamas of which manuscripts have been collected.

A catalogue of the Lhasa edition of Kan-jur Tripiṭaka, prepared by Prof. R. Tokuoka is being printed by the Nava Nalanda Mahavihara.

The University of Poona has undertaken a gigantic Felicitation Volume to M.M. Siddheshwara Shastri Chitrao, which will be a review of research work done in India and abroad in various branches of Indology during the period 1885-1963.

Shri Nagendra Nath Chakravarty of Vishva Bharati has restored a Tantric manuscript of the *Kubjikāmatam* written in later Gupta character with the help of a Newari manuscript of the same work together with a study on the cult of Kubjikā belonging to the Paśchimāmnāya of the Tantras.

The Manuscripts Library, University of Kerala, is continuing the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series in which the *Tantrasamuchchaya* of Nārāyaṇa and the *Ashṭāṅgahṛidaya* have been published.

The Marathwada University is undertaking under the direction of Dr. R. S.

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Gupta, a survey of all the monuments and temples in their region as well as the Chalukyan temples and inscriptions. A study of all the inscriptions of Western Indian Caves and the iconography of the Hindu caves of Ellora has also been commenced.

The publication of the *Saṅgītarāja* of Rāṇā Kumbhā edited by Dr. Premalata Sharma of the Music College, B. H. U. is a happy event. It is a big volume of 1,000 pages to be followed shortly by a similar one. Sanskrit scholars have also received with great satisfaction the II Vol. of the *Śṛiṅgāra Prakāśa* of Bhoja in original Sanskrit of which a critical study in English was made by Dr. Raghavan.

Miss Alice Boner has completed her edition of the *Śilpa Prakāśa*, an architectural text of the Saudhikāgama of which four manuscripts were found in different libraries. The work is now being printed along with the text and glossary.

A *Dictionary of Traditional Art-terms* as handed down amongst the Sthapatis of Saurāshṭra is being done at my suggestion by Shri Prabha Śaṅkara Somapura of Patan.

The work of editing, publication and recovery of Sanskrit works is being done in a substantial measure all over India. Since the material is enormous and new editions and interpretations of old works are needed our efforts should be strengthened still further. New Journals of Sanskrit like the *Gairvāṇī*, *Amṛitalatā*, *Viśva Saṁskṛitam*, *Sūryodaya*, *Sanskrit Quarterly* of the Kerala University, Oriental Manuscripts Library, *Malaya Māruta* (Tirupati) are a good sign for advancing the cause of Sanskrit in several facets.

At the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University a new edition of the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* with the commentary of Utpala is being printed so also the *Jātakaṭṭha-kathā* in Devānagarī character.

The Kashiraj Trust is interested in the critical edition of the Purāṇas amongst which the *Matsya* and *Vāmana Purāṇas* are in hand and a subject concordance of 6 Purāṇas, viz. *Vishṇu*, *Vāmana*, *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Liṅga* is ready for the press. The *Purāṇa Bulletin* maintains its standard and regular half-yearly appearance.

The *Nepal Endowment* at the B.H.U. continues to publish under my General Editorship a series of old Sanskrit texts including the *Saṁgītarāja* of Rāṇā Kumbhā, *Bṛihachchhabdaratna* of Hari Dīkshita, and *Tripādī Mahābhāshya Commentary* of Bhartṛihari, and has projected to print the *Mūla Yajurveda Saṁhitā* which is a reorganised form of the mantra portions of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, arranged by Brahmarshi Daivarātaji according to some very early statements in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra*. I have myself done for this Series an edition of the *Divyāvadāna*, a volume of about twelve hundred pages including an introduction, summary of legends, and an extensive glossary of obscure words.

The Department of Post-graduate training and research at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta is, doing much useful work under the direction of Pt. Gaurinath Shastri. The Journal *Our Heritage* and other works like the *Studies in the Upa-Purāṇas* (Vols. I & II) of Dr. R. C. Hazra,

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Philosophy of Word and Meaning by Dr. Gaurinath Shastri, *Studies in Nyāya-Vaiśeshika* by Dr. Gopika Mohan Bhattacharya, *Medhātithi Bhāshya* translated into Bengali, *Mahāvastu*, *Avadāna* text and translation are noteworthy publications. Prof. P. V. Kane whom we should felicitate on his having completed 85 years, informs me of having sent the manuscript of his first Vol. of the *History of the Dharma Śāstra* for a second revised and enlarged edition to the press. Pandit Śrīpāda Dāmodara Sātavalekar who has devoted his life to a study of the Vedas is still working in his 97th year on an edition of the *Daivata Saṁhitā* text and translation based on the *Saṁhitās* of all the four Vedas. Our best prayers go to him for his health.

The Deccan College Post Graduate Reserach Institute carries through vehement vigour its programme for the big Sanskrit Dictionary under the direction of Dr. S. M. Katre and the work will still justifiably take more years, for Sanskrit is a language of almost boundless limits and new works and approaches to its understanding are growing like a flood. Similar is the case with the *Catalogus Catalogorum* under the editorship of Dr. V. Raghavan of which we are not able to perceive the end. The International Academy of Culture founded by Dr. Raguvira at New Delhi has a colossal programme of publishing Sanskrit texts from Indonesia, Mongolia, Korea, China, Tibet, Syberia, Turkistan and Caucasia. Their range is staggering the depth of new discoveries phenomenal. An edition of the *Kāla-Chakra Tantra* is printed off, and an *Iconographic text* from Tibet and Mongolia is in progress. So also are the works on *Pitṛi-pūjā* and Śaiva texts from Indonesia. This Conference wisher all success to the bold heart and stout elbow of the workers of the Academy today, viz. Dr. Lokesh Chandra and his associates.

Dr. Waldschmidt and his co-workers are busy in retrieving from the fragments of manuscipts found in Central Asia the ancient literature in several languages and scripts throwing light on the spread of Indian civilisation in that region.

SANSKRIT AND OUR FUTURE

If India takes the queue in time her programme of Sanskrit research will bring scholars from many countries in an integrated scheme of capturing many old strands. A time will come when each person of education and culture will feel to give himself training in Yoga which implies obtaining freedom of life and mind by realising the subtle vibrations of the life-force. Pilgrims from many lands will come to the shores of India in search of Yoga for which India should duly prepare. The discipline of Yoga-samādhi and the ancient doctrine of Vedic Prāṇa-vidyā will be India's gift to modern humanity and that is the message of Sanskrit. We cannot afford to lose the inspiration that comes from *Sādhanā* and that to my mind appears to be the esoteric message of Sanskrit. Work on the discovery of Yoga, Tantra, Āgama and Saṁhitā texts will get a fresh lease of life and spate of activity in Sanskrit research which we hope will be based on a rational approach in order to be acceptable to the

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modern mind. Sanskrit studies are like a *Great Yajña* and its Dakshiṇā will be the spirit of Sanskrit.

The study of the ancient scriptures is not merely intellectual operation but entering a new session of faith and courage for building the national will with the conviction that the future generations have to achieve whatever the past generations could not :

kṛitāni putrairakṛtāni pūrvaiḥ, Buddhacharita.

The traditional Pandits who have the unique credit of preserving Sanskrit language and literature from the Vedic times have also received some attention and it is necessary to take positive steps for preserving the *Guru-śishya-pāraṁparya* with which the Pandits were associated. Five thousand fellowships should be instituted to enable the Pandits to continue the work of traditional Sanskrit scholarship and maintaining the high standards for which they have solidly stood through the ages. It is essential to maintain the lofty standards of Sanskrit learning throughout India at the centres of Universities and higher education. We shall all be left in utter poverty of religious and educational atmosphere without the homage being offered to Pandits. It is the duty of this Conference to point out that archaeological explorations and excavations, and studies in Indian philosophy, Art and Architecture should be developed much further as our imminent national obligation in order to recapture the stature and vertical standards that ought to be ours. In the end we all pray to the Great God (*Mahādeva*) to bestow success on our efforts :

Siddhiḥ sādhye satāmastu prasādāttasya dhūrjaṭeḥ.

Bhagavān Śiva is the presiding deity of the Thousand-petalled Lotus of the mind and his matted locks are the infinite activities of the world-system on the mortal and immortal planes.

—Vasudeva S. Agrawala.

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NOTES

1. The Uttarajyotika seems to have been the same as Landikotala, Vṛindāṭka as Burindu and Attuck and Dvārapāla as the Khybar.
2. अस्य मध्ये स्थितो ब्रह्मा प्राग्नक्षत्रं ससर्ज ह ।
   ततः प्राग्ज्योतिषाख्येऽयं पुरी शक्रपुरी समा ॥
   Kālikā Purāṇa 39.126-7.
3. *lauhityamagamadbali*, Sabhā, 27. 22-4. On the bank of Lauhitya was the easternmost town of Saṁvedya tīrtha (mod., Sadiā), Vana-parva, 83.1.
4. तैरेव सहितः सर्वैः प्राग्ज्योतिषमुपाद्रवत् ॥17॥
   तत्र राजा महानासीद् भगदत्तो विशांपते ।
   तेनासीत्सुमहद् युद्धं पाण्डवस्य महात्मनः ॥
   Sabhā, 23.18
   स किरातैश्च चीनैश्च वृतःप्राग्ज्योतिषोऽभवत् ।
   अन्यैश्च बहुभि योधैः सागरानूपवासिभिः ॥19
5. *dvañmagadhakaliṅgasūramasādaṇ*, Pāṇini, IV. 1. 170.
6. Names of 43 rivers :

   करतोया, जटोद्भवा, सितप्रभा, नवतोया, अगद, बहुरोका, चन्द्रिका, फेनिला, सिता, सुमदना, भद्रा, सुभद्रा, मानसा, भैरवी, वर्णासा, त्रिस्रोता, कुसुममालिनी, क्षीरोदा, देवीलीला, चण्डिका, लौहित्य, ललितकान्ता, सुमङ्गला, शाश्वती, कपिलगङ्गिका, दमनिका, महाकृष्णतोया, वृद्धा, देवी, कान्ता, संध्या, ललिता, दीपवती, सिद्ध त्रिःस्रोता, वृद्ध-देविका, भट्टारिका, दिक्कारिका, वृद्धगङ्गा, स्वर्णवहा, ब्रह्मसुत, कामाह्वया, सोमासना, वृषोदका, सितगङ्गा ।

   Names of 43 mountains :

   सुरस, कृत्तिवास, सुतीक्ष्ण, विभ्राट, धवलगिरि, गन्धमादन, दर्पण, अग्निमाल, कंसकर, वरुणाचल, वायुकट, चन्द्रकूट, नन्दन, भस्मकूट, मणिकूट, मत्स्यध्वज-कुलाचल, सुकान्त, रक्षःकूट, चित्रहर, नीलकूट, ब्रह्मगिरि, कर्पट, चित्र, कज्जल, शुभ, दुर्जय, क्षोभक, संध्याचल, भगवान्, श्रृङ्गाट, नाटक, etc.
7. *kirātaiścaiva chīnaiścha . . .sāgarānūpavāsibhiḥ*, Sabhā., 23.19.
8. *pūrve kirātā yasyānte paścime yavanastathā*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57.8.
9. V. S. Agrawala, " Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra ", *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 169, fig. 302.
10. *galvarka-śārājira*, *masārapārī*, *Harsh.*, V, p. 156.
11. "Some Etymological Notes ", *A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies presented to Sir Denison Ross*, pp. 71-73.
12. *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 106 ; also the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, II, p. 322, *Karmaraṅgākhyadvīpeshu nāḍikera-samudbhave.*
13. *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 134, fig. 128.
14. जनं बिभ्रती बहुधा विवाचसं नानाधर्माणं पृथिवी यथौकसम्, AV. 12.1.45.
15. *Tasmāt kirātānutsārya vedaśāstrātigān bahūn*
    Dvijātīn vāsayāmāsa tatra varṇānt sanātanān
    Vedādhyayanadānāni satataṁ vartate yathā
    Tathā chakāra bhagavān munibhirvāsayan vibhuḥ
    Vedavādaratāḥ sarve dānadharma parāyaṇāḥ
    Nachirādabhavaddeśaḥ kāmarūpāhvyastadā
    Kālikā Purāṇa, 39.1 31-4.
16. *Kīrtana*, *Guṇamālā*, *Bhaktipradīpa*, *Anādipatana*, *Hariśchandra Upākhyāna*, *Rukmiṇiharaṇa*, *Balichalana*, *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, *Baragita*, *Niminavasiddhasaṁvāda*, *Amṛitamanthana*, etc.
17. The author of the *Brahma-Purāṇa* has given a list of these rich fruits of life's activity :
    a. The best fruit (*mahāphala*) of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Moksha.
    b. The highest ideal of Deliverance achieved through *Tapas*, as *Anuttara-Jñānāvāpti* and *Nirvāṇa* obtained by Buddha.
    c. Sarva-dāna phala—Virtue of making a total offering of one self.
    d. Sarva-Yajña-phala—Obtaining the fruit of all sacrifices.
    e. Tīrtha-Yātrā-phala—Merit of visiting all holy places.
    f. Gurusevā-phala—Excellence of rendering highest service to the teacher.
    g. Devatārādhana-phala—Merit of identity with the deity through worship.

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h. Svādhyaya-phala—Fruit of holy study.
i. Nānā-vrata-phala—Fruits of holy vows.
j. Nānā-śāstra-phala—Fruits of cultivating many sciences.
k. Ahiṁsā-phala—Virtues of Ahiṁsā, or non-violence towards all beings.
l. Sarvātivāñchchhita-phala—Fulfilment of the highest desires.
m. Brahmacharya-phala —Perfection of physical and mental.
n. Gārhasthya-phala—Ideal householder's life.
o. Vanavāsa-phala—Fruit of the life of a forest dweller.
p. Saṁnyāsa-phala—Merit of Saṁnyāsa.
q. Ishṭā-pūrta-phala—Fruit of religious and public gifts.
r. Anya-śubha-karma-phala—Fruits of miscellaneous deeds of piety.

These ideals were the truth of life as formulated for Gupta civilization. The country was the nverily thought of as the Karmabhūmi. This definition is repeated in several texts of the Golden Age :

1. *Pṛithivyāṁ bhāratavarshaṁ karmabhūmirudāhrita, Brahma Purāṇa*, 27.2.
2. *Karmabhūmiriyaṁ Brahman phalabhūmirasau matah*, Āraṇyaka Parva, 247.35.
3. *Tatrāpi bhāratameva varshaṁ karmakshetra, Bhāgavata*, 5.17.11.
4. *Durlambhaṁ mānushaṁ janma karma-bhūmi-vihānaka, Devī Bhāgavata*, 1.15.44.
5. *Tatrāpi Bharataṁ Varshaṁ karmakshetramuśanti ha, Devī Bhāgavata*, 8.7.34.
6. *Karmabhūmibhūtesmin Bhārate Varshe janmani janmanyevotpannānurāgaḥ, Kādambarī*, p. 319, Vaidya edition.

18. *Bharatyesha prajāḥ sarvāstato bharata uchyate*, Vanaparva, Poona edn., 211.1.

18a. *esha panthā vidarbhāṇāmayaṁ gachchhati kosalān. ataḥ paraṁ cha deśo'yaṁ dakshiṇe dakshināpathaḥ* Vanaparva, 58.22.

19. *Prāpa tālīvanaśyāmamupakaṇṭhaṁ mahodadheḥ*, Raghu. 4.34.
Ratnākaraṁ vīkshya mithaḥ sa jāyāṁ Rāmābhidhāno harirityuvācha, Raghu. 13.1.

20. *Vishṇorivāsyānavadhāraṇīyamīdṛiktayā rūpāmiyattayā Vā*, Raghu. 13.5.

21. *Dvādaśārkama yodvīpaḥ nārāyaṇa-mahārṇavaḥ Vasvashtāchala saṁyuktaḥ rudraikādaśapaṭṭanāḥ*, *Matsya Purāṇa*, 172.30(b), 37(a)

22. *ashṭādaśadvīpanikhātayūpaḥ*, Raghu. VI.38.

23. *Anīśvaro'yaṁ purusho bhavābhave sūtraprotā dārumayīva yoshā|Dhātrā tu dishṭasya vaśe kilāyaṁ tasmād vada tvaṁ śravaṇe dhṛito'ham*

24. *Sarvaṁ tvam āyati yuktaṁ bhāshase prājñasaṁmatam.*

25. *kadāvā ghoshikā gāthāḥ punargāsyanti sākale gavyasya tṛiptā māṁsasya pītvā gauḍaṁ mahāsavam*
gaurībhiḥ saha nārībhir bṛihatībhiḥ svalaṅkṛitāḥ palāṇḍugaṇḍūshayutān khādanti chaiḍakān bahūn
vārāhaṁ kaukkuṭam māṁsaṁ gavyaṁ gārdabham aushṭrakam
aiḍaṁ cha ye na khādanti teshāṁ janma nirarthakam 30.30-32.
Cp. *Life of Greeks and Romans*, p. 266.

26. *Bhavatyekaḥ kule vipraḥ śishṭānye kāmachāriṇaḥ Gāndhārā Madrakāśchaiva Bāhlīkāḥ kepyachetasaḥ* 30.55

27. *mamaitāstanavaḥ śreshṭhā jātā dharmagrihe dvija tāstvaṁ bhajasva satatam* 326.9.13

28. *ahaṁ vaiśvānaro bhūtvā prāṇināṁ dehamāśritaḥ prāṇāpānasamāyuktaḥ pachāmyannaṁ chaturvidham* *Gītā*, 15.14.

29. *Ghṛitasya stokaṁ sakṛidahna āśnāṁ*, RV. X. 95.16.

30. *suvarṇamātmannapaśyattatprājanayat*, AV. Vrātya-Sūkta 15.12

31. *tatraitāvagnī ādhatta himaṁ ghraṁsaṁ cha rohitaḥ*, AV. 13.1.46.

32. *sa varuṇaḥ sāyamagnirbhavati sa mitro bhavati prātarudyan*
sa savitā bhūtvāntarikshena yāti sa indro bhūtvā tapati madhyato divam AV. 13.3.13.

33. *sahasrāhnyaṁ viyatāvasya pakshau harerhaṁsasya patataḥ svargam*, AV. 13.3.14.

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